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Jun: 25: Ætat: 1654 John Milton

Æt. XXX.

3/12/20

POETICAL WORKS

JOHN MILTON

VOL. IV.

THE POETICAL WORKS

OF

53647

JOHN MILTON.

EDITED BY

SIR EGERTON BRYDGES, BART.

WITH IMAGINATIVE ILLUSTRATIONS BY

J. M. W. TURNER, ESQ. R. A.

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Is not each great, each amiable Muse
Of classic ages in our MILTON met?
A genius universal as his theme;
Astonishing as Chaos; as the bloom
Of blowing Eden fair; as Heaven sublime!

THOMSON.

IN SIX VOLUMES.

VOL. IV.

LONDON:
JOHN MACRONE, ST. JAMES'S SQUARE.
MDCCCXXXV.

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PARADISE REGAINED.

PARADISE REGAINED.

THE 'Paradise Regained' bears the same character, compared with the 'Paradise Lost,' as the New Testament bears, compared with the Old: it is more subdued, more didactic, more simple and unornamented, more practical, and less imaginative. The holy poet seems to have been awed by his subject, and to have given less of his own, either of thought, matter, or language: he appears rather the oracle or channel, through which the voice of the Divinity speaks. There is less of human learning, but more than human wisdom;—less of that visionariness of dimly-embodied, half-spiritual forms; and none of that gorgeous display of sublime creation, which the pictures every where abounding in 'Paradise Lost' exhibit. All in the 'Paradise Regained' wears a sober, serene majesty, like the mellow light of the moon in a calm autumnal evening.

It is true that the essence of poetry is not merely imagination or invention, but invention of a particular quality; and this belongs to the 'Paradise Lost' more than to the 'Paradise Regained:' as, for instance, to Satan's escape from hell, and his first sight of the newly-created globe of earth, and Adam and Eve placed in the enjoyment of it,

than to the description of Christ's entry into the wilderness, and Satan in disguise first accosting him: but though the latter description is less grandly imaginative, it is still rich with invention, and invention which is truly poetical: still it is a representation of actual existences, though not a copy of them.

Milton is here pre-eminent in designing character and sentiment: his dialogue is supported with miraculous power and force; and its strength and sublimity shine out the more from the extreme plainness of the language: the task was perilous to find adequate arguments for the contest between the Divine Humanity and a devil. The reader who is not deeply moved, and deeply instructed by it, must be one of brutish and hopeless stupidity. I have said before, that I deemed it an unquestionable duty of every one who understands the English language to study Milton next to the Holy Writings: this remark more especially applies to the description of the temptation of Christ in the wilderness. The 'Paradise Lost' is moral and didactic, but less so than the 'Paradise Regained.'

Satan tempts Christ first by the offer of sensual pleasures; then of riches; then of power; then of glory; and, last, of intellectual pleasures: but Warburton objects to these temptations conquered, as the means of 'Paradise Regained;' and asserts, that the poet ought to have dwelt on Christ's death and resurrection as the price paid for this redemption. He says:—

"Whether Milton supposed the redemption of mankind, as he here represents it, was procured by Christ's triumph over the devil in the wilderness; or whether he thought that the scene of the desert, opposed to that of Paradise; and the action of a temptation withstood, to a temptation fallen under, made 'Paradise Regained' a more regular

sequel to 'Paradise Lost;' or, if neither this nor that, whether it was his being tired out with the labour of composing 'Paradise Lost,' which made him averse to another work of length, (and then he would never be at a loss for fanciful reasons to determine him in the choice of his plan,) is very uncertain. All that we can be sure of is, that the plan is a very unhappy one, and defective even in that narrow view of a sequel; for it affords the poet no opportunity of driving the devil back again to hell from his new conquests in the air. In the mean time, nothing was easier than to have invented a good one, which should end with the resurrection; and comprise these four books, somewhat contracted, in an episode; for which only the subject of them is fit."

Warburton was a man of great subtlety, force, and originality; but totally deficient in poetical taste. To have contracted the matter of these four books, would indeed have been a loss and a destruction. If the poem had been extended to the length of the 'Paradise Lost,' it might indeed have contained that of which Warburton charges the omission as a great defect: but as the poem now stands, it is a perfect whole in itself; and it is not improbable, that the poet found age and sickness too fast pressing upon him to make it longer.

It seems to me, that, in my preliminary remarks upon one of Milton's chief poems, I cannot do better than impress on the reader the peculiarity of the bard's genius, and endeavour to imbue him with a Miltonic taste; which is so distinct from that of all other poetry. That this is no fancy of my own, I can establish on the authority of Milton himself, and of the comments of two distinguished annotators.

I refer to the passage beginning v. 285 of b. iv. of 'Pa-

radise Regained,' which contains Christ's answer to Satan's panegyric of human learning, beginning v. 236, describing Athens as the seat of all intellectual glory. Our Saviour answers, v. 309:—

> Alas! what can they teach, and not mislead,
> Ignorant of themselves, of God much more,
> And how the world began, and how man fell
> Degraded by himself, on grace depending? &c. &c.

The poet goes on, at v. 343:—

> Remove their swelling epithets, thick laid
> As varnish on a harlot's cheek; the rest,
> Thin sown with aught of profit or delight,
> Will far be found unworthy to compare
> With Sion's songs, to all true tastes excelling,
> Where God is praised aright, and godlike men,
> The holiest of holies, and his saints;
> Such are from God inspired, not such from thee;
> Unless where moral virtue is express'd
> By light of nature, not in all quite lost.
> Their orators thou then extoll'st, as those
> The top of eloquence; statists indeed,
> And lovers of their country, as may seem;
> But herein to our prophets far beneath,
> As men divinely taught, and better teaching
> The solid rules of civil government,
> In their majestick unaffected style,
> Than all the oratory of Greece and Rome.
> In them is plainest taught, and easiest learnt,
> What makes a nation happy, and keeps it so;
> What ruins kingdoms, and lays cities flat:
> These only with our law best form a king.

Thyer observes here, that "this answer of our Saviour is as much to be admired for solid reasoning, and the many sublime truths contained in it, as the preceding speech of Satan is for that fine vein of poetry which runs through it: and one may observe in general, that Milton has quite,

throughout this work, thrown the ornaments of poetry on the side of error: whether it was that he thought great truths best expressed in a grave, unaffected style; or intended to suggest this fine moral to the reader;—that simple naked truth will always be an overmatch for falsehood, though recommended by the gayest rhetoric, and adorned with the most bewitching colours."

As to the inferiority of Grecian literature to the songs of Sion, Newton observes, that Milton was of this opinion, not only in the decline of life, but likewise in his earlier days, as appears from the Preface to his second book of 'The Reason of Church Government:'—"Or if occasion shall lead to imitate those magnific Odes and Hymns wherein Pindarus and Callimachus are in most things worthy, some others in their frame judicious, in their matter most an end faulty. But those frequent songs throughout the law and prophets beyond all these, not in their divine argument alone, but in the very critical art of composition, may be easily made appear over all the kinds of lyric poesy to be incomparable."

On this note Warton makes the following comment:—"But Milton now appears to have imbibed so strong a tincture of fanaticism, as to decry all human compositions and profane subjects. In the context he speaks with absolute contempt, even in a critical view; and a general disapprobation of the Greek odes and hymns. (Read ver. 343 to ver. 348.) Undoubtedly these were Milton's own sentiments, though delivered in an assumed character. Even in his own person he had long before given the substance of the context, as cited by Dr. Newton: it must, however, be observed, that Christ is here answering Satan's speech, and counteracting his exquisite panegyric on the philosophers, poets, and orators of Athens: yet at the

same time, I can conceive that Satan's speech, which here he means to confute, and which no man was more able to write than himself, came from the heart.* The writers of dialogue in feigned characters have great advantage."

The chief purpose for which I have introduced this criticism here, is this,—that the reader may not look for what are thought the common ornaments or spells of poetry: he must look for stern truths; for sublime sentiments; for a naked grandeur of imagery; for an absence of all the rhetorical flourishes of literary composition; for the dictates of a lofty and divine virtue; for a bold and gigantic dispersion of the veil from the delusions of human vanity; for the blaze of an Evil Spirit eclipsed by the splendour of a Good and Divine Spirit, illumined by the lamp of Heaven.

But though a great part of the poem is intellectual and argumentative, another large portion is full of grand or beautiful imagery: the description of the wilderness at the opening abounds with sublime scenery: the picture of the storm at the close of the last book, with the bright morning which succeeded, may vie with any of the noblest passages in the 'Paradise Lost:' perhaps in expression, while it loses nothing of grandeur, it is more polished than any other to be found.

Milton intended this poem as the brief or didactic epic, of which he considered the book of Job to be a model, such as he notices in the second book of his 'Reason of Church Government.' "Milton," says Hayley, "had already executed one extensive divine poem, peculiarly distinguished by richness and sublimity of description: in

* Surely there is here something of inconsistency in Warton.

framing a second, he naturally wished to vary its effect; to make it rich in moral sentiment, and sublime in its mode of unfolding the highest wisdom that man can learn: for this purpose it was necessary to keep all the ornamental parts of the poem in due subordination to the preceptive. This delicate and difficult point is accomplished with such felicity; they are blended together with such exquisite harmony and mutual aid; that, instead of arraigning the plan, we might rather doubt if any possible change could improve it. Assuredly, there is no poem of an epic form, where the sublimest moral is so forcibly and abundantly united to poetical delight: the splendour of the poem does not blaze indeed so intensely as in his larger production: here he resembles the Apollo of Ovid; softening his glory in speaking to his son; and avoiding to dazzle the fancy, that he may descend into the heart."

In another place, Hayley, having spoken of the "uncommon energy and felicity of composition in Milton's two poems, however different in design, dimension, and effect," adds,—"to censure the 'Paradise Regained,' because it does not more resemble the 'Paradise Lost,' is hardly less absurd, than it would be to condemn the moon for not being a sun; instead of admiring the two different luminaries, and feeling that both the greater and the less are equally the work of the same divine and inimitable Power."

"Yet this is the poem," says Dunster, "from which the ardent admirers of Milton's other works turn, as from a cold, uninteresting composition, the produce of his dotage, of a palsied hand, no longer able to hold the pencil of poetry."

The origin of this poem is attributed to the suggestion of Ellwood, the quaker. Milton had lent this friend, in

1665, his 'Paradise Lost,' then completed in manuscript, at Chalfont, St. Giles'; desiring him to peruse it at his leisure, and give his judgment of it;—"which I modestly but freely told him," says Ellwood, in his Life of Himself; "and, after some farther discourse of it, I pleasantly said to him, 'Thou hast said much of Paradise Lost, but what hast thou to say of Paradise Found?' He made me no answer, but sat some time in a muse; then broke off that discourse, and fell upon another subject." When Ellwood afterwards waited on him in London, Milton showed him his 'Paradise Regained;' and, in a pleasant tone, said to him,—"This is owing to you; for you put it into my head by the question you put to me at Chalfont; which before I had not thought of."

Milton, in the opening of this poem, speaking of his Muse, as prompted

> to tell of deeds
> Above heroick,

considers the subject of it, as well as of 'Paradise Lost,' to be of much greater dignity and difficulty than the argument of Homer and Virgil. But the difference here is, as Richardson observes, that he confines himself "to nature's bounds;" not as in the 'Paradise Lost,' where he soars "above the visible diurnal sphere:" and so far 'Paradise Regained' is less poetical, because it is less imaginative.

"'Paradise Regained' has not met with the approbation that it deserves," says Jortin: "it has not the harmony of numbers, the sublimity of thought, and the beauties of diction, which are in 'Paradise Lost:' it is composed in a lower and less striking style;—a style suited to the subject. Artful sophistry, false reasoning, set off in the most specious manner, and refuted by the Son of God

with strong unaffected eloquence, is the peculiar excellence of this poem. Satan there defends a bad cause with great skill and subtlety, as one thoroughly versed in that craft:

—— qui facere assuerat
Candida de nigris, et de candentibus atra.

His character is well drawn."

PARADISE REGAINED.

BOOK I.

INTRODUCTORY REMARKS.

THE very outline of the subject of this book of sublime wisdom, argument, and eloquence, is of the highest character of poetry. Our Saviour, in a fit of meditative abstraction, and just beginning to feel his divinity from the signs imparted to him at the baptism of St. John, wanders into a desert and barren wilderness, where he loses himself, and fasts for forty days. There Satan encounters him, first in disguise; and, when detected, in his avowed name, to tempt him to his fall; as he had formerly successfully tempted Eve, and thus effected the ruin of the human race.

The descriptive parts are here only occasional; but when they do occur, they are magnificent and picturesque. The argumentative parts form the main matter. Satan argues with the wicked power of a rebellious and perverted angel; but Christ, feeling within him the growing illumination of his mighty mission, always overcomes him: yet the fiend is as subtle, crafty, flattering, and persuasive, as he is ingenious and vigorous. Our Saviour had yet scarcely plumed his wings; he was doubtful of his own strength; yet a secret Spirit from heaven now whispered to him, that

he was oorn for the trial. The dialogue is supported with amazing force and splendour on both sides: the mind of the profound reader is kept in anxious and trembling suspense. The flash of the demon comes strong and dazzling: then follows the sublime and overwhelming answer, which eclipses it at once; and which moves the soul and heart by its acute and moral grandeur, and its heroic self-denial.

But let it be remembered, that in addition to Satan's alarming artifices, our Saviour had to sustain hunger, thirst, want of shelter, loneliness in a desert of terrific gloominess, out of which he could not find his way: this gives the story a sort of breathless interest, in which the human imagination can find the strongest sympathy. As a divinity, we should not feel the same interest in the fate of the hero of this poem; unless he had, for the execution of his great mission, clothed himself with a nature which subjected him to all the evils of humanity.

The art with which the poet interests us in Satan himself, is miraculous: the demon's plausibilities sometimes almost make us pity him. His self-exculpations, his cunning arguments, to induce a belief that he means no ill-will to man, and that he has no interest in hating him, are invented with astonishing colour and wiliness: our Saviour's calm detection of Satan's sophistries is delightful and exalting. The reader, who feels in this no human sympathy; no glow at intellectual force; no electrification at the spell of mighty genius; no expansion of the brain; no light to the ideas; no elation and renovation of our fallen nature;—must be unspiritualised, and half-imbruted. If any man finds himself cold and dull at first, let him consider it a duty to endeavour by degrees to warm himself. The hardest ice will melt at last by the continual impulse of a glowing sun.

If the intellectual ingredients of this book,—or this poem,—were abstract, I could account for the vulgar distaste of it: but the whole has reference to the contest of characters, and to practical results: the whole is not only involved in a progressive story; but is partly, by its prevalence of dialogue, of a dramatic interest: the reader is kept in suspense for the event of the successive trials.

Is the mean nature of many individuals fallen so low, that they can recognise nothing of sentiment or thought which is noble and generous?—Will they call it improbable, exaggerated, and forced?—There may be poetry holding up a mirror to common life, which is harmless; but it is not virtuous, because it is of no use. The mob perhaps like best to see their own likenesses; but it is often so far mischievous, that it is apt to confirm them in a complacency with their own follies.

Our business is to improve our understandings, and exalt our hearts; to be taught to detect the delusions of sin and the devil; and to bear the sorrows and wrongs of life with a magnanimous fortitude. What poem does this like 'Paradise Regained?' What poem therefore ought we so to study, and become familiar with? The very authorities, on which its chief doctrines are built, are in themselves treasures of wisdom.

But I am at a loss to guess, what, even on the mere principles of poetry, there is of excellence wanting in this poem. Invention, character, sentiment, language,—all in a high degree,—cannot be denied it. Here is unbounded expanse of thought, and profundity of wisdom: here is all the moral eloquence, which is to be found in the noblest authors of antiquity: here is much of the essence of the inspired writings: here is what perhaps popular readers like best of all,—the most condensed and solid brevity:

here is inexhaustible richness of thought combined with extreme plainness, and a scriptural simplicity of expression. I believe that no one ever read florid language for any number of pages without satiety and disgust.

Beautiful as the first book of the 'Paradise Regained' is, I think that the poem continues to rise to the last: here is the difficulty; but it would be a fault if it did not. This book is principally occupied in Satan's exculpation of himself: the other books set forth the fiend's temptations, both material and intellectual; and our Saviour's sublime arguments in answer to him.

The style with which the 'Paradise Regained' opens, is generally considered more sober, and less removed from its authorities, than that of the 'Paradise Lost;' and this is supposed to have partly arisen from the poet's awe of his subject, and partly from the weakness of rapidly declining age. With respect to the style, so far as it is more subdued, (if it be so) I believe that it has purely been caused by the choice of his subject, and the plainer and simpler language of the New Testament, which disdains all ornament, and in which the story gives less scope to imagination. Where we are relating recorded facts, from which we dare not vary, our language is necessarily more controlled and tame.

I am only surprised at the boldness of the poet in choosing this sublime theme: he could not but have foreseen all its difficulties; but knowing his own perfect familiarity with the scriptural language, his gigantic mind hazarded the task. This alone is a proof that he was not conscious of any "failure of strength;" and there is not a single passage in the execution, which indicates any such failure: with whatever else compared of his immortal writings, the imagery is as distinct and picturesque; the

spiritual part, the thoughts and arguments, are at least equally vigorous, original, discriminative, and profound, and perhaps more abundant: nor has the language less of that naked strength, which supports itself by its own intrinsic power.

ARGUMENT OF BOOK I.*

THE subject proposed. Invocation of the Holy Spirit. The poem opens with John baptizing at the river Jordan: Jesus coming there is baptized; and is attested, by the descent of the Holy Ghost, and by a voice from heaven, to be the Son of God. Satan, who is present, upon this immediately flies up into the regions of the air; where, summoning his infernal council, he acquaints them with his apprehensions that Jesus is that seed of the woman, destined to destroy all their power; and points out to them the immediate necessity of bringing the matter to proof, and of attempting, by snares and fraud, to counteract and defeat the person, from whom they have so much to dread: this office he offers himself to undertake; and, his offer being accepted, sets out on his enterprise. In the mean time, God, in the assembly of holy angels, declares that he has given up his Son to be tempted by Satan; but foretels that the tempter shall be completely defeated by him: upon which the angels sing a hymn of triumph. Jesus is led up by the Spirit into the wilderness, while he is meditating on the commencement of his great office of Saviour of mankind.

* No edition of 'Paradise Regained' had ever appeared with Arguments to the books, before that which was published in 1795 by Mr. Dunster; from which they are adopted in this edition. Peck, indeed, endeavoured to supply the deficiency, in his 'Memoirs of Milton,' 1740, p. 70, &c. but the Arguments, which he has there given, are too diffuse, and want that conciseness and energy which distinguish Mr. Dunster's. —TODD.

Pursuing his meditations, he narrates, in a soliloquy, what divine and philanthropic impulses he had felt from his early youth, and how his mother Mary, on perceiving these dispositions in him, had acquainted him with the circumstances of his birth, and informed him that he was no less a person than the Son of God; to which he adds what his own inquiries and reflections had supplied in confirmation of this great truth, and particularly dwells on the recent attestation of it at the river Jordan. Our Lord passes forty days, fasting, in the wilderness; where the wild beasts become mild and harmless in his presence. Satan now appears under the form of an old peasant; and enters into discourse with our Lord, wondering what could have brought him alone into so dangerous a place, and at the same time professing to recognize him for the person lately acknowledged by John at the river Jordan, to be the Son of God. Jesus briefly replies. Satan rejoins with a description of the difficulty of supporting life in the wilderness; and entreats Jesus, if he be really the Son of God, to manifest his divine power, by changing some of the stones into bread. Jesus reproves him, and at the same time tells him that he knows who he is. Satan instantly avows himself, and offers an artful apology for himself and his conduct. Our blessed Lord severely reprimands him, and refutes every part of his justification. Satan, with much semblance of humility, still endeavours to justify himself; and, professing his admiration of Jesus and his regard for virtue, requests to be permitted at a future time to hear more of his conversation; but is answered, that this must be as he shall find permission from above. Satan then disappears, and the book closes with a short description of night coming on in the desert.

PARADISE REGAINED.

BOOK I.

I, WHO erewhile[1] the happy garden sung
By one man's disobedience lost,[2] now sing
Recover'd Paradise[3] to all mankind,
By one man's firm obedience fully tried
Through all temptation, and the tempter foil'd
In all his wiles, defeated and repulsed,
And Eden raised in the waste wilderness.[4]
  Thou Spirit,[5] who ledst this glorious eremite
Into the desert,[6] his victorious field,
Against the spiritual foe, and brought'st him thence
By proof the undoubted Son of God, inspire,
As thou art wont,[7] my prompted song, else mute;[8]
And bear, through highth or depth of Nature's bounds,
With prosperous wing full summ'd, to tell of deeds

Above heroick, though in secret done,
And unrecorded left through many an age;
Worthy to have not remain'd so long unsung.
Now had the great proclaimer, with a voice
More awful than the sound of trumpet,[9] cried
Repentance, and Heaven's kingdom nigh at hand
To all baptized: to his great baptism flock'd
With awe the regions round, and with them came
From Nazareth the son of Joseph deem'd
To the flood Jordan; came, as then obscure,
Unmark'd, unknown; but him the Baptist soon
Descried, divinely warn'd,[10] and witness bore
As to his worthier, and would have resign'd
To him his heavenly office; nor was long
His witness unconfirm'd: on him baptized
Heaven open'd, and in likeness of a dove
The Spirit descended, while the Father's voice
From heaven pronounced him his beloved Son.
That heard the adversary, who, roving still
About the world,[11] at that assembly famed
Would not be last; and, with the voice divine
Nigh thunder-struck, the exalted man, to whom
Such high attest was given,[12] awhile survey'd
With wonder; then, with envy fraught and rage,
Flies to his place, nor rests, but in mid air
To council summons all his mighty peers,
Within thick clouds and dark tenfold involved,[13]
A gloomy consistory;[14] and them amidst,
With looks aghast and sad, he thus bespake:
O ancient powers of air, and this wide world;[15]
(For much more willingly I mention air,
This our old conquest, than remember hell,

Our hated habitation) well ye know,
How many ages, as the years of men,
This universe we have possess'd, and ruled,
In manner at our will, the affairs of earth,
Since Adam and his facile consort Eve
Lost Paradise, deceived by me; though since
With dread attending when that fatal wound
Shall be inflicted by the seed of Eve
Upon my head. Long the decrees of Heaven
Delay, for longest time to him is short;[16]
And now, too soon for us, the circling hours
This dreaded time have compass'd, wherein we
Must bide the stroke of that long-threaten'd wound,
At least, if so we can; and, by the head
Broken, be not intended all our power
To be infringed, our freedom and our being,
In this fair empire won of earth and air:
For this ill news I bring;[17] the woman's Seed,
Destined to this, is late of woman born:
His birth to our just fear gave no small cause;
But his growth now to youth's full flower, displaying
All virtue, grace, and wisdom to achieve
Things highest, greatest, multiplies my fear.
Before him a great prophet, to proclaim
His coming, is sent harbinger, who all
Invites, and in the consecrated stream
Pretends to wash off sin, and fit them, so
Purified, to receive him pure;[18] or rather
To do him honour as their King: all come,
And he himself among them was baptized;

Not thence to be more pure, but to receive
The testimony of Heaven, that who he is
Thenceforth the nations may not doubt. I saw
The prophet do him reverence; on him, rising
Out of the water, Heaven above the clouds
Unfold her crystal doors;[19] thence on his head
A perfect dove descend,[20] (whate'er it meant)
And out of Heaven the sovran voice I heard,—
This is my Son beloved,—in him am pleased.
His mother then is mortal, but his Sire
He who obtains the monarchy of Heaven:
And what will he not do to advance his Son?
His first-begot we know, and sore have felt,
When his fierce thunder drove us to the deep.[21]
Who this is we must learn;[22] for man he seems
In all his lineaments; though in his face
The glimpses of his Father's glory shine.
Ye see our danger on the utmost edge
Of hazard, which admits no long debate,
But must with something sudden be opposed,
(Not force, but well-couch'd fraud, well-woven snares[23])
Ere in the head of nations he appear,
Their king, their leader, and supreme on earth.
I, when no other durst, sole undertook
The dismal expedition,[24] to find out
And ruin Adam; and the exploit perform'd
Successfully: a calmer voyage now
Will waft me;[25] and the way, found prosperous once,
Induces best to hope of like success.

He ended, and his words impression left

Of much amazement to the infernal crew,
Distracted and surprised with deep dismay
At these sad tidings; but no time was then
For long indulgence to their fears or grief:
Unanimous they all commit the care
And management of this main enterprise
To him, their great dictator,[26] whose attempt
At first against mankind so well had thrived
In Adam's overthrow, and led their march
From hell's deep-vaulted den to dwell in light,
Regents, and potentates, and kings, yea, gods,
Of many a pleasant realm and province wide.
So to the coast of Jordan[27] he directs
His easy steps,[28] girded with snaky wiles,[29]
Where he might likeliest find this new-declared,
This man of men, attested Son of God,
Temptation and all guile on him to try;
So to subvert whom he suspected raised
To end his reign on earth, so long enjoy'd:
But, contrary, unweeting he fulfill'd
The purposed counsel, preordain'd and fix'd,
Of the Most High; who, in full frequence bright
Of angels, thus to Gabriel smiling spake:[30]
  Gabriel, this day by proof thou shalt behold,
Thou and all angels conversant on earth
With man or men's affairs, how I begin
To verify that solemn message, late
On which I sent thee to the Virgin pure
In Galilee, that she should bear a son,
Great in renown, and call'd the Son of God;
Then told'st her,[31] doubting how these things
could be

To her a virgin, that on her should come
The Holy Ghost, and the power of the Highest
O'ershadow her. This man, born and now upgrown,
To show him worthy of his birth divine
And high prediction, henceforth I expose
To Satan: let him tempt, and now assay
His utmost subtlety; because he boasts
And vaunts of his great cunning to the throng
Of his apostasy:[32] he might have learnt
Less overweening, since he fail'd in Job,[33]
Whose constant perseverance overcame
Whate'er his cruel malice could invent.
He now shall know I can produce a man,
Of female seed, far abler to resist
All his solicitations, and at length
All his vast force, and drive him back to hell;
Winning, by conquest, what the first man lost,
By fallacy surprised. But first I mean
To exercise him in the wilderness:
There he shall first lay down the rudiments
Of his great warfare,[34] ere I send him forth
To conquer Sin and Death, the two grand foes,
By humiliation and strong sufferance:
His weakness shall o'ercome Satanic strength,[35]
And all the world,[36] and mass of sinful flesh;
That all the angels and ethereal powers,
They now, and men hereafter, may discern,
From what consummate virtue I have chose
This perfect man, by merit call'd my Son,
To earn salvation for the sons of men.[37]

So spake the Eternal Father, and all heaven

Admiring stood a space;[38] then into hymns
Burst forth, and in celestial measures moved,
Circling the throne and singing,[39] while the hand
Sung with the voice,[40] and this the argument:
  Victory and triumph to the Son of God,
Now entering his great duel,[41] not of arms,
But to vanquish[42] by wisdom hellish wiles!
The Father knows the Son; therefore secure
Ventures his filial virtue, though untried,
Against whate'er may tempt, whate'er seduce,
Allure, or terrify, or undermine.
Be frustrate, all ye stratagems of hell;
And, devilish machinations, come to naught!
  So they in heaven their odes and vigils tuned:
Meanwhile the Son of God,[43] who yet some days
Lodged in Bethabara, where John baptized,[44]
Musing, and much revolving in his breast,[45]
How best the mighty work he might begin
Of Saviour to mankind, and which way first
Publish his godlike office now mature,
One day forth walk'd alone, the Spirit leading;
And his deep thoughts,[46] the better to converse
With solitude,[47] till, far from track of men,[48]
Thought following thought, and step by step led on,
He enter'd now the bordering desert wild;
And, with dark shades and rocks environ'd round,[49]
His holy meditations thus pursued:
  O, what a multitude of thoughts at once
Awaken'd in me swarm, while I consider
What from within I feel myself, and hear

What from without comes often to my ears,
Ill sorting with my present state compared!
When I was yet a child, no childish play
To me was pleasing;[50] all my mind was set
Serious to learn and know, and thence to do,
What might be public good; myself I thought
Born to that end, born to promote all truth,[51]
All righteous things: therefore, above my years,
The law of God I read, and found it sweet,
Made it my whole delight,[52] and in it grew
To such perfection, that, ere yet my age
Had measured twice six years,[53] at our great feast
I went into the temple, there to hear
The teachers of our law, and to propose
What might improve my knowledge or their own;
And was admired by all:[54] yet this not all
To which my spirit aspired; victorious deeds
Flamed in my heart, heroic acts; one while
To rescue Israel from the Roman yoke;
Then to subdue and quell, o'er all the earth,
Brute violence and proud tyrannic power,[55]
Till truth were freed, and equity restored:
Yet held it more humane, more heavenly, first[56]
By winning words to conquer willing hearts,[57]
And make persuasion do the work of fear;
At least to try, and teach the erring soul,
Not wilfully misdoing, but unaware
Misled; the stubborn only to subdue.
These growing thoughts my mother soon perceiving,
By words at times cast forth, inly rejoiced,[58]

And said to me apart:—High are thy thoughts,
O Son, but nourish them, and let them soar
To what highth sacred virtue and true worth
Can raise them, though above example high:
By matchless deeds express thy matchless Sire.
For know, thou art no son of mortal man,
Though men esteem thee low of parentage;
Thy Father is the Eternal King who rules
All heaven and earth, angels and sons of men:
A messenger from God foretold thy birth
Conceived in me a virgin; he foretold
Thou shouldst be great, and sit on David's throne,
And of thy kingdom there should be no end.[59]
At thy nativity, a glorious quire
Of angels, in the fields of Bethlehem, sung
To shepherds, watching at their folds by night,[60]
And told them the Messiah now was born,
Where they might see him, and to thee they came,
Directed to the manger where thou lay'st,
For in the inn was left no better room:
A star, not seen before, in heaven appearing,
Guided the wise men thither from the east,
To honour thee with incense, myrrh, and gold;[61]
By whose bright course led on they found the place,
Affirming it thy star, new-graven in heaven,
By which they knew thee King of Israel born.
Just Simeon and prophetick Anna,[62] warn'd
By vision, found thee in the temple, and spake,
Before the altar and the vested priest,[63]
Like things of thee to all that present stood.—
This having heard,[64] straight I again revolved

The law and prophets, searching what was writ
Concerning the Messiah, to our scribes
Known partly, and soon found, of whom they spake,
I am;[65] this chiefly, that my way must lie
Through many a hard assay, ev'n to the death,
Ere I the promised kingdom can attain,
Or work redemption for mankind, whose sins'
Full weight must be transferr'd upon my head.[66]
Yet, neither thus dishearten'd or dismay'd,
The time prefix'd I waited; when behold
The Baptist, (of whose birth I oft had heard,
Not knew by sight,[67]) now come, who was to come
Before Messiah, and his way prepare!
I, as all others, to his baptism came,
Which I believed was from above; but he
Straight knew me, and with loudest voice proclaim'd
Me him, (for it was shown him so from Heaven)
Me him, whose harbinger he was; and first
Refused on me his baptism to confer,
As much his greater, and was hardly won:
But, as I rose out of the laving stream,[68]
Heaven open'd her eternal doors,[69] from whence
The Spirit descended on me like a dove;
And last, the sum of all, my Father's voice,
Audibly heard from heaven, pronounced me his,
Me his beloved Son, in whom alone
He was well pleased; by which I knew the time
Now full,[70] that I no more should live obscure;
But openly begin, as best becomes,

Think'st thou such force in bread? Is it not written,
(For I discern thee other than thou seem'st)[89]
Man lives not by bread only, but each word
Proceeding from the mouth of God; who fed
Our fathers here with manna;[90] in the mount
Moses was forty days, nor eat, nor drank;
And forty days Elijah, without food,
Wander'd this barren waste; the same I now:
Why dost thou then suggest to me distrust,
Knowing who I am,[91] as I know who thou art?
Whom thus answer'd the arch-fiend, now undisguised:—
'Tis true, I am that spirit unfortunate,[92]
Who, leagued with millions more in rash revolt,
Kept not my happy station, but was driven
With them from bliss to the bottomless deep;
Yet to that hideous place not so confined
By rigour unconniving, but that oft,
Leaving my dolorous prison,[93] I enjoy
Large liberty to round this globe of earth,[94]
Or range in the air;[95] nor from the heaven of heavens
Hath he excluded my resort sometimes.
I came among the sons of God, when he
Gave up into my hands Uzzean Job,[96]
To prove him and illustrate his high worth;
And, when to all his angels he proposed
To draw the proud king Ahab into fraud,[97]
That he might fall in Ramoth; they demurring,
I undertook that office, and the tongues
Of all his flattering prophets glibb'd with lies

The authority which I derived from Heaven.
And now by some strong motion I am led
Into this wilderness, to what intent
I learn not yet; perhaps I need not know;
For what concerns my knowledge God reveals.[71]
So spake our Morning Star,[72] then in his rise;
And, looking round, on every side beheld
A pathless desert,[73] dusk with horrid shades:[74]
The way he came not having mark'd, return
Was difficult, by human steps untrod;
And he still on was led, but with such thoughts
Accompanied of things past and to come
Lodged in his breast, as well might recommend
Such solitude before choicest society.[75]
Full forty days he pass'd, whether on hill
Sometimes,[76] anon on shady vale, each night
Under the covert of some ancient oak
Or cedar[77] to defend him from the dew,[78]
Or harbour'd in one cave, is not reveal'd;
Nor tasted human food, nor hunger felt,
Till those days ended; hunger'd then at last
Among wild beasts: they at his sight grew mild,[79]
Nor sleeping him nor waking harm'd; his walk
The fiery serpent fled and noxious worm,
The lion and fierce tiger glared aloof.[80]
But now an aged man[81] in rural weeds,
Following, as seem'd, the quest of some stray ewe,
Or wither'd sticks to gather, which might serve
Against a winter's day, when winds blow keen,[82]
To warm him wet return'd from field at eve,

He saw approach, who first with curious eye
Perused him, then with words thus utter'd spake:
Sir, what ill chance hath brought thee to this place
So far from path or road of men, who pass
In troop or caravan ?[63] for single none
Durst ever, who return'd,[64] and dropt not here
His carcass, pined with hunger[65] and with drouth.
I ask the rather, and the more admire,
For that to me thou seem'st the man, whom late
Our new baptizing prophet at the ford
Of Jordan honour'd so, and call'd thee Son
Of God: I saw and heard, for we sometimes
Who dwell this wild, constrain'd by want, come forth
To town or village nigh,[66] (nighest is far)
Where aught we hear, and curious are to hear
What happens new; fame also finds us out.
To whom the Son of God:—Who brought me hither,
Will bring me hence; no other guide I seek.
By miracle he may, replied the swain;
What other way I see not; for we here
Live on tough roots and stubs,[67] to thirst inured
More than the camel,[68] and to drink go far,
Men to much misery and hardship born:
But, if thou be the Son of God, command
That out of these hard stones be made thee bread;
So shalt thou save thyself, and us relieve
With food, whereof we wretched seldom taste.
He ended, and the Son of God replied:

To his destruction, as I had in charge.
For what he bids I do: though I have lost
Much lustre of my native brightness,[98] lost
To be beloved of God; I have not lost
To love, at least contemplate and admire,
What I see excellent in good, or fair,
Or virtuous;[99] I should so have lost all sense:
What can be then less in me than desire
To see thee and approach thee, whom I know
Declared the Son of God, to hear attent
Thy wisdom, and behold thy godlike deeds?
Men generally think me much a foe
To all mankind: why should I? they to me
Never did wrong or violence; by them
I lost not what I lost, rather by them
I gain'd what I have gain'd, and with them dwell,
Copartner in these regions of the world,
If not disposer; lend them oft my aid,
Oft my advice by presages and signs,
And answers, oracles, portents, and dreams,
Whereby they may direct their future life.[100]
Envy they say excites me, thus to gain
Companions of my misery and woe.
At first it may be; but, long since with woe
Nearer acquainted, now I feel by proof,
That fellowship in pain divides not smart,[101]
Nor lightens aught each man's peculiar load.
Small consolation then, were man adjoin'd:
This wounds me most; (what can it less?) that man,
Man fallen shall be restored, I never more.[102]
To whom our Saviour sternly thus replied:—

Deservedly thou grievest, composed of lies
From the beginning, and in lies wilt end;
Who boast'st release from hell, and leave to come
Into the heaven of heavens: thou comest indeed,
As a poor miserable captive thrall
Comes to the place where he before had sat
Among the prime in splendour, now deposed,
Ejected, emptied, gazed, unpitied, shunn'd,
A spectacle of ruin, or of scorn,
To all the host of heaven: the happy place
Imparts to thee no happiness, no joy;
Rather inflames thy torment; representing
Lost bliss, to thee no more communicable,[103]
So never more in hell than when in heaven.
But thou art serviceable to Heaven's King.
Wilt thou impute to obedience what thy fear
Extorts, or pleasure to do ill excites?[104]
What but thy malice moved thee to misdeem
Of righteous Job, then cruelly to afflict him
With all inflictions? but his patience won.
The other service was thy chosen task,
To be a liar in four hundred mouths;[105]
For lying is thy sustenance, thy food.
Yet thou pretend'st to truth; all oracles
By thee are given, and what confess'd more true
Among the nations? that hath been thy craft,
By mixing somewhat true to vent more lies.[106]
But what have been thy answers, what but dark,
Ambiguous, and with double sense deluding,[107]
Which they who ask'd have seldom understood,
And not well understood as good not known?

Who ever by consulting at thy shrine
Return'd the wiser, or the more instruct,[108]
To fly or follow what concern'd him most,
And run not sooner to his fatal snare?
For God hath justly given the nations up
To thy delusions; justly, since they fell
Idolatrous: but, when his purpose is
Among them to declare his providence
To thee not known, whence hast thou then thy truth,
But from him, or his angels president
In every province,[109] who themselves disdaining
To approach thy temples, give thee in command
What, to the smallest tittle, thou shalt say
To thy adorers? Thou with trembling fear,
Or like a fawning parasite, obey'st:
Then to thyself ascribest the truth foretold.[110]
But this thy glory shall be soon retrench'd;
No more shalt thou by oracling abuse
The Gentiles; henceforth oracles are ceased,[111]
And thou no more with pomp or sacrifice
Shalt be inquired at Delphos, or elsewhere;
At least in vain, for they shall find thee mute.
God hath now sent his living oracle[112]
Into the world to teach his final will;
And sends his Spirit of truth henceforth to dwell
In pious hearts, an inward oracle
To all truth requisite for men to know.

So spake our Saviour; but the subtle fiend,
Though inly stung with anger and disdain,
Dissembled, and this answer smooth return'd:—
Sharply thou hast insisted[113] on rebuke,

And urged me hard with doings, which not will,
But misery hath wrested from me. Where
Easily canst thou find one miserable,
And not enforced oft-times to part from truth,
If it may stand him more in stead to lie,
Say and unsay, feign, flatter, or abjure?[114]
But thou art placed above me, thou art Lord;
From thee I can, and must, submiss, endure
Check or reproof, and glad to 'scape so quit.
Hard are the ways of truth, and rough to walk,[115]
Smooth on the tongue discoursed, pleasing to the ear,
And tunable as sylvan pipe or song:[116]
What wonder then if I delight to hear
Her dictates from thy mouth? Most men admire
Virtue, who follow not her lore:[117] permit me
To hear thee when I come, (since no man comes)
And talk at least, though I despair to attain.
Thy Father, who is holy, wise, and pure,
Suffers the hypocrite or atheous[118] priest
To tread his sacred courts, and minister
About his altar, handling holy things,
Praying or vowing;[119] and vouchsafed his voice
To Balaam reprobate,[120] a prophet yet
Inspired: disdain not such access to me.
  To whom our Saviour, with unalter'd brow:
Thy coming hither, though I know thy scope,
I bid not, or forbid; do as thou find'st
Permission from above; thou canst not more.[121]
  He added not; and Satan, bowing low

His gray dissimulation, disappear'd,
Into thin air diffused:[122] for now began
Night with her sullen wing[123] to double-shade[124]
The desert; fowls in their clay nests were couch'd;
And now wild beasts came forth the woods to roam.[125]

NOTES ON BOOK I.

[1] Verse 1. *I, who erewhile.* The proposition of the subject is clear and dignified, and is beautifully wound up in the concluding line:—

> And Eden raised in the waste wilderness.
>
> Dunster.

This is plainly an allusion to the "Ille ego qui quondam," &c., attributed to Virgil. Thus also Spenser:—

> Lo, I the man, whose Muse whilom did mask,
> As time her taught, in lowly shepherd's weeds,
> Am now enforced, a far unfitter task,
> For trumpets stern to change mine oaten reeds, &c.
>
> Newton.

[2] Ver. 2. *By one man's disobedience lost.* "For as by one man's disobedience many were made sinners, so by the obedience of one shall many be made righteous."—Rom. v. 19.—Newton.

[3] Ver. 3. *Recover'd Paradise.* It may seem a little odd, that Milton should impute the recovery of Paradise to this

short scene of our Saviour's life upon earth, and not rather extend it to his agony, crucifixion, &c. but the reason no doubt was, that Paradise, regained by our Saviour's resisting the temptations of Satan, might be a better contrast to Paradise, lost by our first parents too easily yielding to the same seducing Spirit. Besides, he might, very probably, and indeed very reasonably, be apprehensive, that a subject, so extensive as well as sublime, might be too great a burden for his declining constitution, and a task too long for the short term of years he could then hope for. Even in his 'Paradise Lost,' he expresses his fears, lest he had begun too late, and lest "an age too late, or cold climate, or years, should have damped his intended wing;" and surely he had much greater cause to dread the same now, and to be very cautious of launching out too far.—THYER.

[4] Ver. 7. *And Eden raised in the waste wilderness.* There is, I think, a particular beauty in this line, when one considers the fine allusion in it to the curse brought upon the paradisiacal earth by the fall of Adam: "Cursed is the ground for thy sake: thorns also and thistles shall it bring forth to thee."—THYER.

See Isaiah, li. 3.

[5] Ver. 8. *Thou Spirit.* This invocation is so supremely beautiful, that it is hardly possible to give the preference even to that in the opening of the 'Paradise Lost.' This has the merit of more conciseness. Diffuseness may be considered as lessening the dignity of invocations on such subjects.—DUNSTER.

[6] Ver. 9. *Into the desert.* It is said, Mat. iv. 1:—"Then was Jesus led up of the Spirit into the wilderness to be tempted of the devil." And from the Greek original ἔρημος, the desert, and ἐρημίτης, an inhabitant of the desert, is rightly formed the word *eremite;* which was used before by Milton

in his 'Paradise Lost,' b. iii. 474: and by Fairfax, in his translation of Tasso, c. xi. st. 4: and in Italian, as well as Latin, there is *eremita*, which the French, and we after them, contract into *hermite, hermit*.—NEWTON.

[7] Ver. 11. *Inspire,*
As thou art wont.

See the very fine opening of the ninth book of the 'Paradise Lost,' and also his invocation of Urania, at the beginning of the seventh book: and in the introduction to the second book of the 'Reason of Church Government urged against Prelacy,' where he promises to undertake something, he yet knows not what, that may be of use and honour to his country, he adds: "This is not to be obtained but by devout prayer to that Eternal Spirit, who can enrich with all utterance and knowledge, and sends out his seraphim, with the hallowed fire of his altar, to touch and purify whom he pleases." Here then we see, that Milton's invocations of the Divine Spirit were not merely *exordia pro forma*. Indeed his prose works are not without their invocations. Compare also Tasso, 'Il Mondo Creato,' Giorn. prim.

e langue
Se non m' inspiri tu, la voce, e 'l suono.

DUNSTER.

[8] Ver. 12. *My prompted song, else mute.* Milton's third wife, who survived him many years, related of him, that he used to compose his poetry chiefly in winter; and on his waking in a morning, would make her write down sometimes twenty or thirty verses. Being asked, whether he did not often read Homer and Virgil, she understood it as an imputation upon him for stealing from those authors, and answered with eagerness, "he stole from nobody but the Muse who inspired him:" and, being asked by a lady present who the Muse was, replied, "it was God's grace, and

the Holy Spirit, that visited him nightly."—Newton's Life of Milton. Mr. Richardson also says, that "Milton would sometimes lie awake whole nights, but not a verse could he make; and on a sudden his poetical fancy would rush upon him with an *impetus* or *æstrum*."—Johnson's Life of Milton. "Else mute" might have been suggested by a passage of Horace's most beautiful ode to the Muse, IV. iii:—

O testudinis aureæ
Dulcem quæ strepitum, Pieri, temperas!
O mutis quoque piscibus
Donatura cygni, si libeat, sonum!

or from Quinctilian:—"Ipsam igitur orandi majestatem, qua nihil Dii immortales melius homini dederunt, et qua remota muta sunt omnia, et luce præsenti et memoria posteritatis carent, toto animo petamus," l. xii. 11.—DUNSTER.

[9] Ver. 18. *With a voice*
More awful than the sound of trumpet.

"Lift up thy voice like a trumpet, and show my people their transgressions," Isaiah lviii. 1: and see Heb. xii. 18, 19.—DUNSTER.

[10] Ver. 25. *But him the Baptist soon*
Descried, divinely warn'd.

John the Baptist had notice given him before, that he might certainly know the Messiah by the Holy Ghost descending and abiding upon him: "And I knew him not; but he that sent me to baptize with water, the same said unto me, Upon whom thou shalt see the Spirit descending and remaining on him, the same is he which baptizeth with the Holy Ghost," John i. 33. But it appears from St. Matthew, that the Baptist knew him, and acknowledged him before he was baptized, and before the Holy Ghost descended upon him, Mat. iii. 14. "I have need to be baptized of thee, and comest thou to me?" To account for

which we must admit with Milton, that another divine revelation was made to him at this very time, signifying that this was the person, of whom he had such notice before.—NEWTON.

The Baptist John carries us with the best effect *in medias res*.—DUNSTER.

[11] Ver. 33. *Who, roving still*
About the world.

"And the Lord said unto Satan, whence comest thou? Then Satan answered the Lord, and said, From going to and fro in the earth, and from walking up and down in it." Job i. 7. See also 1 Pet. v. 8.—DUNSTER.

[12] Ver. 36. *The exalted man, to whom*
Such high attest was given, &c.

The description how Satan is affected by this divine attestation of Jesus is admirable: his involuntary admiration is consistent with his knowledge of what is good and amiable; (see ver. 379.) his envy and rage are truly Satanic, and becoming his character of the enemy of all good. —DUNSTER.

[13] Ver. 41. *Within thick clouds and dark tenfold involved.* Milton, in making Satan's residence to be "in mid air, within thick clouds and dark," seems to have St. Austin in his eye; who, speaking of the region of clouds, storms, thunder, &c., says, "ad ista caliginosa, id est, ad hunc aërem, tanquam ad carcerem, damnatus est diabolus," &c. 'Enarr. in Ps.' 148. s. 9. tom. 5. p. 1677. edit. Bened.—THYER.

[14] Ver. 42. *A gloomy consistory.* This is an imitation of Virgil, Æn. iii. 677:—

Cernimus astantes nequicquam lumine torvo
Ætnæos fratres, cœlo capita alta ferentes,
Concilium horrendum.

By the word "consistory," I suppose Milton intends to glance at the meeting of the pope and cardinals so named, or perhaps at the episcopal tribunal, to all which sorts of courts or assemblies he was an avowed enemy. The phrase, *concilium horrendum*, Vida makes use of upon a like occasion of assembling the infernal powers, 'Christ.' lib. 1.

> Protinus acciri diros ad regia fratres
> Limina, concilium horrendum.

And Tasso also, in the very same manner, 'Gier. Lib.' c. iv. st. 2:—

> Che sia commanda il popol suo raccolto
> (Concilio horrendo) entro la regia soglia.

THYER.

[15] Ver. 44. *O ancient powers of air, and this wide world.* So the devil is called in Scripture "the prince of the power of the air," Eph. ii. 2; and evil spirits are termed the "rulers of the darkness of this world," Eph. vi. 12. Satan here summons a council, and opens it as he did in the 'Paradise Lost:' but here is not that copiousness and variety which is in the other; here are not different speeches and sentiments adapted to the different characters; it is a council without a debate; Satan is the only speaker: and the author, as if conscious of this defect, has artfully endeavoured to obviate the objection, by saying that their danger

> Admits no long debate,
> But must with something sudden be opposed:

and afterwards,

> No time was then
> For long indulgence to their fears or grief.

The true reason is, he found it impossible to exceed or equal the speeches in his former council, and therefore has assigned the best reason he could for not making any in this.—NEWTON.

They who have been taught to think, by the cant of

common critics, that this poem is unworthy of the great genius of Milton, may read the first two speeches in it; this of Satan, with which the poem judiciously opens; and that of God, at ver. 130 of this book.—Jos. WARTON.

[16] Ver. 55. *Long the decrees of Heaven*
Delay, for longest time to him is short.

This observation, that "the decrees of Heaven are long delayed," must be understood as being limited to this particular instance; or to its being sometimes, not always so. Why any interval should ever occur between the decrees of the Almighty and his execution of them, a reason is immediately subjoined, which forms a peculiarly fine transition to the succeeding sentence. Time is as nothing to the Deity; long and short having, in fact, no existence to a Being with whom all duration is present: time to human beings has its stated measurement, and by this Satan had just before estimated it:—

> How many ages, as the years of men,
> This universe we have possess'd.

Time to guilty beings, human or spiritual, passes so quick, that the hour of punishment, however protracted, always comes too soon:—

> And now, too soon for us the circling hours
> This dreaded time have compass'd, wherein we
> Must bide the stroke of that long-threaten'd wound.
>
> DUNSTER.

[17] Ver. 64. *For this ill news I bring*, &c. In the fourth act of the 'Adamo' of Andreini, Lucifer similarly announces the incarnation to the demons.—DUNSTER.

[18] Ver. 74. *Purified, to receive him pure.* 1 John, iii. 3. "And every man that hath this hope in him, purifieth himself even as he is pure."—NEWTON.

[19] Ver. 81. *Heaven above the clouds*
Unfold her crystal doors.

It is the same idea in the 'Ode on the Nativity,' st. 13:—"Ring out, ye crystal spheres:" and in the Latin ode, 'Præsul. Elien.' ver. 63:—

Donec nitentes ad fores
Ventum est Olympi, et regiam crystallinam, &c.

Compare also 'Paradise Lost,' vi. 771:—

He on the wings of seraphs rode sublime
On the crystalline sky.

Again, b. i. 741:—

Thrown by angry Jove
Sheer o'er the crystal battlements.

See also b. vi. 756. 860. Milton's "crystal battlements" are in the imagery of romance: the "crystalline sphere" is from the Ptolemaic or Gothic system of astronomy, 'Paradise Lost,' iii. 482: and so perhaps Spenser, 'Tears of the Muses:'—

For hence we mount aloft into the skie,
And look into the crystall firmament.

T. Warton.

[20] Ver. 83. *A perfect dove descend.* He had expressed it before, ver. 30. "in likeness of a dove," agreeably to St. Matthew, "the Spirit of God descending like a dove," iii. 16. and to St. Mark, "the Spirit like a dove descending upon him," i. 10. But as Luke says, that "the Holy Ghost descended in a bodily shape," iii. 22. the poet supposes, with Tertullian, Austin, and others of the fathers, that it was a real dove, as the painters always represent it. —Newton.

[21] Ver. 89. *And sore have felt,*
When his fierce thunder drove us to the deep.

In reference to the sublime description, in the 'Paradise

Lost,' of the Messiah driving the rebel angels out of heaven, b. vi. 834, &c.—DUNSTER.

[23] Ver. 91. *Who this is we must learn.* Our author favours the opinion of those writers, Ignatius and others among the ancients, and Beza and others among the moderns, who believed that the devil, though he might know Jesus to be some extraordinary person, yet knew him not to be the Messiah, the Son of God.—NEWTON.

It was requisite for the poet to assume this opinion, as it is a necessary hinge on which part of the poem turns.—DUNSTER.

[24] Ver. 97. *Well-woven snares.* Thus Spenser, 'Astrophel,' st. 17:—

There his well-woven toils, and subtle traines
He laid, &c.

DUNSTER.

[25] Ver. 100. *I, when no other durst, sole undertook*
The dismal expedition, &c.

The fear and unwillingness of the other fallen angels to undertake this dismal expedition, is particularly described in the 'Paradise Lost,' b. ii. 420, &c.—DUNSTER.

[26] Ver. 103. *A calmer voyage now*
Will waft me.

Thus, in 'Paradise Lost,' b. ii. 1041, where Satan begins to emerge out of chaos, it is said the remainder of the journey became so much easier,

That Satan with less toil, and now with ease,
Wafts on the calmer wave.

DUNSTER.

[27] Ver. 113. *To him, their great dictator.* Milton applies this title very properly to Satan in his present situation; as

the authority he is now vested with is quite dictatorial, and the expedition on which he is going of the utmost consequence to the fallen angels.—THYER.

[27] Ver. 119. *To the coast of Jordan.* The wilderness, where our Saviour underwent his forty days' temptation, was on the same bank of Jordan where the baptism of John was; St. Luke witnessing it, that Jesus being now baptized, "returned from Jordan."—NEWTON.

[28] Ver. 120. *His easy steps.* In reference, as Dr. Newton has observed, to the calmness or easiness of his present expedition, compared with the danger and difficulty of his former one to ruin mankind. Accordingly Satan in the conclusion of his speech had said,

A calmer voyage now
Shall waft me.

DUNSTER.

[29] Ibid. *Girded with snaky wiles.* "Girded with snaky wiles" alludes to the habits of sorcerers and necromancers, who are represented in some prints as girded about the middle with the skins of snakes and serpents.—NEWTON.

This being "girt about with a girdle of snakes," puts us in mind, says Warburton, of the instrument of the Fall. Surely this interpretation is a far-sought and groundless refinement; as is also the remark on ver. 310, of the wild beasts growing mild at our Saviour's appearance as a mark of the returning paradisiacal state.—JOS. WARTON.

"Girded" here seems used only in a metaphorical sense; as in Scripture, the Christian, properly armed, is described having his "loins girt about with truth," Ephes. vi. 14. "Girded with snaky wiles" is equivalent to the "dolis instructus" of Virgil, Æn. ii. 152. Thus also, in the beginning of the third book of this poem, Satan is described,

At length collecting all his serpent wiles.

DUNSTER.

[30] Ver. 129. *Thus to Gabriel smiling spake.* This speech is properly addressed to Gabriel, among the angels; as he seems to have been the angel particularly employed in the embassies and transactions relating to the Gospel. Gabriel was sent to inform Daniel of the famous prophecy of the seventy weeks; Gabriel notified the conception of John the Baptist to his father Zacharias, and of our blessed Saviour to his Virgin Mother. The Jewish Rabbis say that Michael was the minister of severity, but Gabriel of mercy: accordingly, our poet makes Gabriel the guardian angel of Paradise, and employs Michael to expel our first parents out of Paradise: and for the same reason this speech is directed to Gabriel in particular.—NEWTON.

Tasso, speaking of Gabriel, who is the messenger of the Deity to Godfrey, in the opening of the 'Gerusalemme Liberata,' says:—

E tra Dio questi e l' anime migliori
Interprete fedel, nuncio giocondo:
Giù i decreti del ciel porta, ed al cielo
Riporta dè mortali i preghi, e 'l zelo.

DUNSTER.

Ibid. *Smiling spake. Smiling* is here no casual expletive: it is a word of infinitely fine effect, and is particularly meant to contrast the description of Satan, in the preceding part of the book, where, in his "gloomy consistory" of infernal peers, it is said,

With looks aghast and sad he thus bespake.

The benevolent smile of the Deity is finely described by Virgil, 'Æn.' i. 254:—

Olli subridens hominum sator atque Deorum,
Vultu, quo cœlum tempestatesque serenat.

DUNSTER.

Satan's infernal council is briefly, but finely assembled; his speech is admirable, and the effect of it is strongly depicted. This is strikingly contrasted by the succeeding beautiful speech of the Deity surrounded by his angels;

his speech to them, and the triumphant hymn of the celestial choir. Indeed, the whole opening of this poem is executed in so masterly a manner; that, making allowance for a certain wish to compress, which is palpably visible; very few parts of 'Paradise Lost' can in any respect claim a pre-eminence.—DUNSTER.

[31] Ver. 137. *Then told'st her.* Milton sometimes, from a wish to compress, latinises, so as to obscure and confuse his language considerably. The sense which he intends here, is plainly "thou told'st her," &c.; so that "told'st" is used here as equivalent to the Latin *dixisti*, with its pronominal nominative understood; but which our language positively requires to be expressed, unless where the verb is connected by a conjunction with some other verb dependent on the same pronoun. He has adopted the same mode of writing in other places; particularly ver. 221 of this book,

Yet held it more humane, &c.

where the passage is perfectly confused for want of the pronoun *I*. See also ver. 85 of this book. We may in this respect apply to our author what Cicero has said of the ancient orators:—"Grandes erant verbis, crebri sententiis, compressione rerum breves, et ob eam ipsam causam interdum subobscuri," Brutus, 29. ed. Proust.—DUNSTER.

[32] Ver. 144. *Because he boasts*
And vaunts of his great cunning to the throng
Of his apostasy.

This alludes to what Satan had just before said to his companions, ver. 100:—

I, when no other durst, sole undertook, &c.

THYER.

[33] Ver. 147. *Fail'd in Job.* See the opening of Job, whom God permitted Satan to try: a noble subject for an

epic, which Milton seems once to have thought of. Young's attempt is a miserable failure.

[34] Ver. 157. *The rudiments*
Of his great warfare.

Virg. 'Æn.' xi. 156.

> Primitiæ juvenis miseræ, bellique propinqui
> Dura rudimenta.

And Statius, 'Sylv.' v. ii. 3.

> Quod si militiæ jam te, puer inclyte, primæ
> Clara rudimenta, et castrorum dulce vocaret
> Auspicium.

DUNSTER.

[35] Ver. 161. *His weakness shall o'ercome Satanic strength.* Thus in the first Epistle to the Corinthians, c. i. ver. 27:—"And God hath chosen the weak things of the world to confound the things which are mighty."

But the proper reference here is more probably to the second verse of the eighth Psalm:—"Out of the mouth of babes and sucklings hast thou ordained strength, because of thine enemies; and that thou mightest still the enemy and the avenger." This Psalm is considered by commentators as a ψαλμὸς ἐπινίκιος: bishop Patrick supposes it to have been composed by David after his victory over Goliath; "which," he adds, "was a lively emblem of Christ's conquest over our great enemy."—DUNSTER.

[36] Ver. 162. *And all the world.* "I have overcome the world," John xvi. 33.—DUNSTER.

[37] Ver. 163.

> *That all the angels and ethereal powers,*
> *They now, and men hereafter, may discern,*
> *From what consummate virtue I have chose*
> *This perfect man, by merit call'd my Son,*
> *To earn salvation for the sons of men.*

Not a word is here said of the Son of God, but what a Socinian would allow. His divine nature is artfully concealed under a partial and ambiguous representation: and the angels are first to learn the mystery of the incarnation from that important conflict, which is the subject of this poem: they are seemingly invited to behold the triumphs of the man Christ Jesus over the enemy of mankind; and these surprise them with the glorious discovery of the God,

enshrined
In fleshly tabernacle and human form.

The Father, speaking to his Eternal Word, 'Paradise Lost,' b. iii. 308, on his generous undertakings for mankind, saith,

and hast been found
By merit, more than birthright, Son of God.
CALTON.

On a frequent perusal and thorough consideration of this passage, I cannot forbear being of Mr. Calton's opinion; that there is not a word here said of the Son of God, but what a Socinian, or at least an Arian, would allow. The same observation may be made on some other remarkable passages of this poem.—Jos. WARTON.

[38] Ver. 168.

So spake the Eternal Father, and all heaven
Admiring stood a space.

We cannot but notice the great art of the poet, in setting forth the dignity and importance of his subject. He represents all beings as interested one way or other in the event. A council of devils is summoned; an assembly of angels is held: Satan is the speaker in the one; the Almighty in the other. Satan expresses his diffidence, but still resolves to make trial of this Son of God; the Father declares his purpose of proving and illustrating his Son. The infernal crew are distracted and surprised with deep dismay; all heaven stands awhile in admiration. The fiends are silent through fear and grief; the angels burst forth into singing

with joy and the assured hope of success: and their attention is thus engaged, the better to engage the attention of the reader.—NEWTON.

[39] Ver. 169. *Then into hymns*
Burst forth, and in celestial measures moved,
Circling the throne and singing.

Milton, we may suppose, had here in his mind the ancient chorus. In his original plan of the 'Paradise Lost,' under a dramatic form, he proposed to introduce a chorus of angels. The drama seems to have been his favourite species of poetry, and that which particularly caught and occupied his imagination: so at least we may judge from the numerous plans of tragedies which he left behind him. Indeed, he has frequent allusions to dramatic compositions in all his works.—DUNSTER.

Milton, perhaps, at this time, had in mind Dante's representation of the angels formed into choirs, and singing praises to the Eternal Father, in his 'Paradiso,' c. xxviii.—TODD.

[40] Ver. 171. *While the hand*
Sung with the voice.

We have nearly the same phrase in Tibullus, iii. iv. 41:—

Sed postquam fuerant digiti cum voce locuti,
Edidit hæc dulci tristia verba modo.

The word *hand* is used again in this poem, b. iv. 254. to distinguish instrumental harmony from vocal:—

There thou shalt hear and learn the secret power
Of harmony, in tones and numbers hit
By voice or hand.

Also in the 'Arcades,' v. 77:—

If my inferiour hand or voice could hit
Inimitable sounds.

CALTON.

So, in Lucretius, iv. 588:—

> Chordarumque sonos fieri, dulcesque querelas,
> Tibia quas fundit digitis pulsata canentum.

Cano signifies not only "to sing," but also "to perform on any instrument." Thus, Ovid, 'Ex Pont.' i. i. 39:—

> Ante deum Martem cornu tibicen adunco
> Cum canit.

DUNSTER.

"Ver. 174. *Now entering his great duel.* If it be not a contradiction, it is at least inaccurate in Milton, to make an angel say in 'Paradise Lost,' b. xii. 386:—"Dream not of their fight as of a duel;" and afterwards to make the angels express it here in the metaphor of a duel.—NEWTON.

There is, I think, a meanness in the customary sense of the word "duel," that makes it unworthy of these speakers, and of this occasion. The Italian *duello*, if I am not mistaken, bears a stronger sense, and this I suppose Milton had in view.—THYER.

Milton might rather be supposed to look to the Latin; where *duellum* is equivalent to *bellum*. See Hor. Ep. i. ii. 6. and Ode iv. xiv. 18. But "duel" here is used by our author in its most common acceptation of single combat; and "now entering his great duel" means, "now entering the lists to prove, in personal combat with his avowed antagonist and appellant, the reality of his own divinity." See verse 130 of this book. In the opening of this poem we may notice allusions to the duel, or trial by combat. See verse 5, &c.; and verse 8—11. Indeed, the 'Paradise Regained' absolutely exhibits the temptation of our blessed Saviour in the light of a duel, or personal contest, between him and the arch-enemy of mankind; in which our Lord, by his divine patience, fortitude, and resignation to the will of his heavenly Father, vanquishes the wiles of the devil. He thereby attests his own supe-

riority over his antagonist, and his ability to restore the lost happiness of mankind, by regaining Paradise for them, and by rescuing and redeeming them from that power, which had led them captive.—DUNSTER.

[42] Ver. 175. *But to vanquish.* Milton lays the accent on the last syllable in "vanquish," as elsewhere in "triumph;" and in many places he imitates the Latin and Greek prosody, and makes a vowel long before two consonants.—JORTIN.

I scan this line differently, so as not to lay the accent on the last syllable:—

Būt tō|vānquĭsh by|wĭsdŏm|hēllĭsh|wiles.

[43] Ver. 182.

So they in heaven their odes and vigils tuned:
Meanwhile the Son of God.

How nearly does the poet here adhere to the same way of speaking which he had used in 'Paradise Lost,' on the same occasion, b. iii. 416!—

Thus they in heaven, above the starry sphere,
Their happy hours in joy and hymning spent.
Meanwhile upon the firm opacous globe
Of this round world, &c.

THYER.

Ibid. *Vigils tuned.* This is a very uncommon expression, and not easy to be understood; unless we suppose, that by vigils, the poet means those songs which they sung while they kept their watches. Singing of hymns is their manner of keeping their wakes in heaven: and I see no reason why their evening service may not be called *vigils*, as their morning service is called matins.—NEWTON.

The evening service in the Roman catholic churches is called vespers. There was formerly a nocturnal service, called vigils, or nocturns, which was chanted and accompanied with music. Ducange explains *vigiliæ*, "ipsum officium nocturnum quod in vigiliis nocturnis olim decanta-

batur."—The old writers often speak of the *vigiliarum cantica*.—DUNSTER.

[44] Ver. 183. *Who yet some days*
Lodged in Bethabara, where John baptized.

The poet, I presume, said this upon the authority of the first chapter of St. John's gospel, where certain particulars, which happened several days together, are related concerning the Son of God; and it is said, ver. 28:—"These things were done in Bethabara beyond Jordan, where John was baptizing."—NEWTON.

[45] Ver. 185. *Much revolving in his breast.* Virg. 'Æn.' x. 890:—"Multa movens animo."—DUNSTER.

[46] Ver. 189.
One day forth walk'd alone, the Spirit leading;
And his deep thoughts.

In what fine light does Milton here place that text of Scripture, where it is said that "Jesus was led up of the Spirit into the wilderness!" He adheres strictly to the inspired historian, and at the same time gives it a turn which is extremely poetical.—THYER.

[47] Ver. 190. *The better to converse*
With solitude.

So, in 'Comus,' v. 375:—

Wisdom's self
Oft seeks to sweet retired solitude.

DUNSTER.

But the poet here perhaps alludes to the sacred text, where it is said of our Saviour, that, "in the morning, rising up a great while before day, he went out, and departed into a solitary place, and there prayed," Mark i. 35.—TODD.

[48] Ver. 191. *Far from track of men.* Sophocl. 'Philoct.' ver. 493:—Χωρὶς ἀνθρώπων στίβου.—DUNSTER.

[49] Ver. 193.

He enter'd now the bordering desert wild;
And, with dark shades and rocks environ'd round.

The wilderness, in which John "preached the gospel," and where "Jerusalem and all Judea, and all the region round about Jordan, went out to him, and were baptized in Jordan," we are expressly told by St. Matthew, iii. 1. was "the wilderness of Judea;" which extended from the river Jordan all along the western side of the Asphaltic Lake, or Dead Sea. The different parts of this wilderness had different names, from the neighbouring cities or mountains: thus, 1 Sam. xxiii. 14. it is called the "wilderness of Ziph," and xxiv. 1. the "wilderness of Engaddi." The word in Scripture, which in our version is rendered "wilderness" or "desert," does not mean a country absolutely barren or uninhabited, but only uncultivated. Indeed, in the fifteenth chapter of Joshua, where the cities of Judah are enumerated, we read of six cities "in the wilderness:" of these, Engaddi stood nearest to the river Jordan, and the northern end of the Dead Sea. The desert, where Milton, following what could be collected from Scripture, now places our Lord, we may suppose then to be that part of the wilderness of Judea in the neighbourhood of Engaddi. The wilderness, or uncultivated parts of Judea, appear chiefly to have been forests and woods, *loca saltuosa et sylvosa.* (See Reland's 'Palestina,' l. i. c. 56. "de locis incultis et sylvis Palæstinæ.") About Engaddi also there were many mountains and rocks. David is described, 1 Sam. xxiii. 29, dwelling "in strong holds at Engaddi;" and of Saul, when in pursuit of him, xxiv. 2. it is said that "he went to seek David and his men upon the rocks of the wild goats." The "bordering desert" then is the rocky uncultivated forest-country nearest to that part of Jordan where John had been baptizing; and our Lord is accordingly, with the greatest accuracy of description, there represented, as entering

now the bordering desert wild,
And with dark shades and rocks environ'd round.

It should be observed, that D'Anville, in the map of Palestine, in his 'Géographie Ancienne,' has laid down Bethabara wrong. He places it towards the northern end of that part of Jordan, which flows from the lake of Genezaret into the Dead Sea; and on the eastern bank of the river; almost opposite Enon. But it is nearly certain, that it really stood, as bishop Pearce supposes, (see his note on John i. 28.) at the southern end of the river Jordan, on the western bank; and within a little distance of the wilderness, being only a very few miles from the Dead Sea.—DUNSTER.

[40] Ver. 201.

When I was yet a child, no childish play
To me was pleasing.

How finely and consistently, as Mr. Thyer observes, does Milton here imagine the youthful meditations of our Saviour! Dr. Jortin was of opinion, that Milton might here allude to Callimachus's account of Jupiter's infantine disposition, 'Hymn in Jov.' v. 56. Dr. Newton produced a similar description of Demophilus by Pindar, 'Pyth.' Od. iv. 501. and Mr. Dunster refers to an apposite passage in Plutarch's 'Life of Cato.' But the conclusion, made by Dr. Newton, still applies:—"Our author might allude to those passages, but he certainly did allude to the words of the apostle, 1 Cor. xiii. 11, only inverting the thought, 'When I was a child, I spake as a child,'" &c.—TODD.

If we may be allowed to apply these words of our Saviour to a mere uninspired being, I may call to recollection, that this was said of our poet, Gray, as well as of Milton himself.

[41] Ver. 204. *Myself I thought*
Born to that end, born to promote all truth.

Alluding to our Saviour's words, John xviii. 37:—"To this end was I born, and for this cause came I into the

world, that I should bear witness unto the truth."—NEWTON.

[52] Ver. 207.

The law of God I read, and found it sweet,
Made it my whole delight.

"How sweet are thy words unto my taste! yea, sweeter than honey to my mouth!" Psalm cxix. 103:—"And his delight is in the law of the Lord; and in his law doth he meditate day and night," Psalm i. 2.—DUNSTER.

[53] Ver. 209. *Ere yet my age*
Had measured twice six years.

The following verses of Statius bear a resemblance, not only to this immediate passage, but also to some of the preceding lines, 'Sylv.' v. ii. 12:—

Octonos bis jam tibi circuit annos
Vita; sed angustis animus robustior annis,
Succumbitque oneri, et mentem sua non capit ætas.
DUNSTER.

[54] Ver. 214. *And was admired by all.* "And all that heard him were astonished at his understanding and answers," Luke ii. 47.—NEWTON.

[55] Ver. 218.

Then to subdue and quell, o'er all the earth,
Brute violence and proud tyrannick power.

Milton here carries his republican principles to the greatest height, in supposing the overthrow of all monarchy to have been one of the objects of our Lord's early contemplations. We may compare his 'Samson Agonistes,' v. 1268, &c.—DUNSTER.

[56] Ver. 221. *Yet held it more humane, more heavenly, first.* The true spirit of toleration breathes in these lines; and the

sentiment is very fitly put into the mouth of him, who "came not to destroy men's lives, but to save them."—NEWTON.

[57] Ver. 222. *By winning words to conquer willing hearts.* Virgil, 'Georg.' iv. 561:—

Victorque volentes
Per populos dat jura.

JORTIN.

Dr. Newton has commended the alliteration of *w's* in this line. Alliteration, not too frequently repeated, undoubtedly gives sometimes force and energy to a line; but surely several of our late writers carry it to a nauseous and unwarrantable length. Of all writers, Dryden seems to be most happy in the temperate and proper use of alliteration; but he has scarcely ever more than three words in a line that begin with the same letter.—Jos. WARTON.

[58] Ver. 228. *Inly rejoiced.* Virgil, 'Æn.' i. 502:—

Latonæ tacitum pertentant gaudia pectus.

JORTIN.

The reader should recollect, that the occasion of the above verse, which is finely descriptive of maternal delight, was the distinguishing personal grace and divine appearance of Diana on the banks of Eurotas, surrounded by her nymphs; among whom

Illa pharetram
Fert humero, gradiensque Deas supereminet omnes.

DUNSTER.

[59] Ver. 239. *He foretold,*
Thou shouldst be great, and sit on David's throne,
And of thy kingdom there should be no end.
See Luke i. 32, 33.—DUNSTER.

[60] Ver. 242.

At thy nativity, a glorious quire
Of angels, in the fields of Bethlehem, sung
To shepherds, watching at their folds by night, &c.

See 'Paradise Lost,' b. xii. 364:—

His place of birth a solemn angel tells
To simple shepherds, keeping watch by night:
They gladly thither haste, and by a quire
Of squadron'd angels hear his carol sung.

DUNSTER.

[61] Ver. 249.

A star, not seen before, in heaven appearing,
Guided the wise men thither from the east,
To honour thee with incense, myrrh, and gold.

So in 'Paradise Lost,' b. xii. 360:

Yet at his birth a star,
Unseen before in heaven, proclaims him come,
And guides the Eastern sages, who inquire
His place, to offer incense, myrrh, and gold.

DUNSTER.

[62] Ver. 255. *Just Simeon and prophetick Anna.* It may not be improper to remark how strictly our author adheres to the Scripture history, not only in the particulars which he relates, but also in the very epithets which he affixes to the persons; as here "just Simeon," because it is said, Luke ii. 25. "and the same man was just:" and "prophetick Anna," because it is said, Luke ii. 36. "and there was one Anna, a prophetess." The like accuracy may be observed in all the rest of this speech.—NEWTON.

[63] Ver. 257. *The vested priest.* The epithet "vested" is singularly proper, because the vestments of the Jewish priest were enjoined, and particularly described, by God himself; and, unless habited in them, the ministration of the priest at the altar was illegal, and expressly forbidden under the

penalty of " bearing his iniquity," Exod. xxviii. 43.—HURD.

[64] Ver. 259. *This having heard.* The brief description of our Lord's entering " now the bordering desert wild, and with dark shades and rocks environ'd round;" and again, where, looking round on every side, he beholds " a pathless desert dusk with horrid shades," are scenes worthy of the pencil of Salvator. Our Lord's soliloquy is a material part of the poem, and briefly relates the early part of his life. In the 'Paradise Lost,' where the divine persons are speakers, Milton has so chastened his pen, that we meet with few poetical images, and chiefly scriptural sentiments, delivered, as near as may be, in scriptural, and almost always in unornamented language. But the poet seems to consider this circumstance of the temptation (if I may venture so to express myself) as the last perfect completion of the initiation of the man Jesus in the mystery of his own divine nature and office: at least, himself entitled to make our Saviour, while on earth, and " enshrined in earthly tabernacle," speak in a certain degree *ἀνθρωπίνως*, or, *after the manner of men.* Accordingly, all the speeches of our blessed Lord in this poem, are far more elevated than any language that is put into the mouth of the divine speakers in any part of the 'Paradise Lost.' The ingrafting Mary's speech into that of her son, it must be allowed, is not a happy circumstance. It has an awkward effect, loads the rest of the speech, and might have been avoided and better managed.—DUNSTER.

[65] Ver. 262. *And soon found, of whom they spake,*
I am.

The Jews thought that the Messiah, when he came, would be without all power and distinction, and unknown even to himself, till Elias had anointed and declared him.

See Just. Mart. ' Dial. cum Tryph.' p. 266. ed. Col.—CALTON.

[66] Ver. 266. *Whose sins'*
Full weight must be transferr'd upon my head.
Isaiah liii. 6:—"The Lord hath laid on him the iniquity of us all."—NEWTON.

[67] Ver. 271. *Not knew by sight.* Though Jesus and John the Baptist were related, yet they were brought up in different countries, and had no manner of intimacy or acquaintance with each other. John the Baptist says expressly, John i. 31. 33:—"And I knew him not." He did not so much as know him by sight, till our Saviour came to his baptism; and afterwards it doth not appear that they ever conversed together.—NEWTON.

[68] Ver. 280. *Out of the laving stream.* Alluding to the phrase "laver of regeneration," so frequently applied to baptism. It may be observed in general of this soliloquy of our Saviour; that it is not only excellently well adapted to the present condition of the divine speaker, but also very artfully introduced by the poet, to give us a history of his hero from his birth to the very scene with which the poem is opened.—THYER.

[69] Ver. 281. *Eternal doors.* So in Psal. xxiv. 7. 9:—"everlasting doors." And ' Paradise Lost,' b. vii. 205:—

Heaven open'd wide
Her ever-during gates.

DUNSTER.

[70] Ver. 286. *The time*
Now full.
Alluding to the Scripture phrase, "the fulness of time," Gal. iv. 4.—NEWTON.

[71] Ver. 293. *For what concerns my knowledge God reveals.* This whole soliloquy is formed upon an opinion, which hath authorities enough to give it credit; that Christ was not, by virtue of the personal union of the two natures and from the first moment of that union, possessed of all the knowledge of the Logos, as far as the capacity of a human mind would admit. [See Le Blanc's 'Elucidatio Status Controversiarum,' &c. cap. 3.] In his early years he "increased in wisdom, and in stature." St. Luke, ii. 52. And Beza observes upon this place, that—"ipsa Θεότητος plenitudo sese, prout et quatenus ipsa libuit, humanitati assumtæ insinuavit: quicquid garriant matæologi, et novi ubiquitarii Eutychiani." Grotius employs the same principle to explain St. Mark, xiii. 32:—"Videtur mihi, ni meliora docear, hic locus non impie posse exponi hunc in modum; ut dicamus divinam sapientiam menti humanæ Christi effectus suos impressisse pro temporum ratione: nam quid aliud est, si verba non torquemus, προέκοπτε σοφίᾳ, Luc. ii. 52?" And our Tillotson approved the opinion:—"It is not unreasonable to suppose, that the Divine Wisdom, which dwelt in our Saviour, did communicate itself to his human soul according to his pleasure, and so his human nature might at some times not know some things: and if this be not admitted, how can we understand that passage concerning our Saviour, Luke ii. 52. that 'Jesus grew in wisdom and stature?'"—Calton.

[72] Ver. 294. *So spake our Morning Star.* So our Saviour is called, in the Revelation, xxii. 16, "the bright and morning star."—Newton.

And thus Spenser, in his 'Hymn of Heavenly Love:'—

> O blessed well of love! O flowre of grace!
> O glorious Morning-star! &c.

Compare also Luke i. 78. 2 Pet. i. 19.—Dunster.

[73] Ver. 296. *A pathless desert.* Æschyl. 'Prom. Vinct.'

ver. 2. And see Beaumont and Fletcher's 'Nice Valour:'—

> Fountain heads, and pathless groves;
> Places which pale Passion loves.
>
> DUNSTER.

[74] Ibid. *Dusk with horrid shades.* Thus Virgil describes the wood in which Euryalus is taken, in his ninth Æneid, 381:—

> Sylva fuit, late dumis atque ilice nigra
> Horrida, quam densi complerant undique sentes:
> Rara per occultos lucebat semita calles.

But "dusk with horrid shades" is more immediately from Æn. i. 165:—

> Horrentique atrum nemus imminet umbra.
>
> DUNSTER.

Probably not without a reference also to Tasso. See my note on 'Comus,' ver. 428.—TODD.

[75] Ver. 299.

> *And he still on was led, but with such thoughts*
> *Accompanied of things past and to come*
> *Lodged in his breast, as well might recommend*
> *Such solitude before choicest society.*

The poet here resumes and continues the description he had given of our blessed Lord, previous to his soliloquy, on his first entering the desert, v. 189.—DUNSTER.

[76] Ver. 303. *Full forty days he pass'd, whether on hill*
Sometimes, &c.

Here the poet of 'Paradise Lost' breaks out in his meridian splendour. There is something particularly picturesque in this description.—DUNSTER.

[77] Ver. 306. *Or cedar.* There is great propriety in men-

tioning this tree, as being peculiar to the country where the scene is laid.—Jos. Warton.

[78] Ibid. *To defend him from the dew.* That the dews of that country are very considerable, may be collected from several parts of Scripture. The dews of Mount Hermon are particularly noticed in the 133rd Psalm, as producing the most irriguous effects. Maundrell, in his 'Travels,' when within little more than half a day's journey of this mountain, says, "we were sufficiently instructed by experience what the Holy Psalmist means by the 'dew of Hermon;' our tents being as wet with it, as if it had rained all night."—Dunster.

[79] Ver. 310.

Among wild beasts: they at his sight grew mild.

St. Mark's short account of the temptation is, that our blessed Lord "was in the wilderness forty days tempted of Satan, and was with the wild beasts, and the angels ministered unto him," ch. i. 13. Archbishop Secker, in his 'Sermon on the Temptation,' says, "During these forty days, it is observed by St. Mark, that our blessed Redeemer was with the wild beasts; which words must imply, else they are of no significance, that the fiercest animals were awed by his presence, and so far laid aside their savage nature for a time; thus verifying literally, what Eliphaz in Job saith figuratively, concerning a good man; 'At destruction and famine shalt thou laugh, neither shalt thou be afraid of the beasts of the earth; for they shall be at peace with thee.'" Before the Fall, Milton supposes those beasts, which are now wild, to have been harmless, void of ferocity to each other, and even affectionate towards man. See 'Paradise Lost,' b. iv. 340, &c. Immediately after the Fall, among other changes of nature, the animals begin to grow savage. See 'Paradise Lost,' b. x. 707. Here, upon the appearance of perfect innocence in a human form

amongst them, they begin to resume a certain proportion of the paradisiacal disposition. In Homer's 'Hymn to Venus,' where that goddess descends on Mount Ida, to visit Anchises at his folds, her appearance is described as having the same effect, in its fullest extent, ver. 68, &c. Giles Fletcher, in his 'Christ's Triumph on Earth,' 1610, has given a similar but more diffuse description of the effect of our Lord's presence on the wild beasts in the wilderness. —DUNSTER.

[80] Ver. 313. *The lion and fierce tiger glared aloof.* So, in 'Paradise Lost,' b. iv. 401:—

> About them round
> A lion now he stalks with fiery glare;
> Then as a tiger——

Again, b. x. 712, it is said that, after the Fall, the wild beasts, ceasing to graze,

> Devour'd each other, nor stood much in awe
> Of man; but fled him, or with countenance grim
> Glared on him passing:—

The latter part of which description is palpably taken from Shakspeare, 'Jul. Cæs.' a. i. s. 4:—

> I met a lion
> Who glared upon me, and went surly by,
> Without annoying me.

DUNSTER.

[81] Ver. 314. *But now an aged man.* As the Scripture is entirely silent about what personage the tempter assumed, the poet was at liberty to indulge his own fancy; and nothing, I think, could be better conceived for his present purpose, or more likely to prevent suspicion of fraud. The poet might perhaps take the hint from a design of David Vinkboon, where the devil is represented addressing himself to our Saviour, under the appearance of an old man. It is to

be met with among Vischer's cuts to the Bible, and is engraved by Landerselt.—Thyer.

[82] Ver. 317. *When winds blow keen.* This is a descent to human imagery, but in that regard it is beautifully poetical.

[83] Ver. 323. *In troop or caravan?* A caravan, as Tavernier says, is a great convoy of merchants, who meet at certain times and places, to put themselves into a condition of defence from thieves who ride in troops in several desert places upon the road. Hence the safest way of travelling in Turkey and Persia is with the caravan. See 'Travels into Persia,' in Harris, vol. ii. ch. 2.—Newton.

[84] Ibid. *For single none*
Durst ever, who return'd.

Milton seems here to have had in his mind the vast sandy deserts of Africa; which Diodorus Siculus describes as a "desert, full of wild beasts, of vast extent; and from its being devoid of water, and bare of all kind of food, not only difficult, but absolutely dangerous to pass over." In Jeremiah, the desert is described "a land that no man passed through." Compare the opening of Dante's 'Inferno,' where, having passed through the more dreadful part of the *piaggia deserta*, the poet turns himself to regard the dangerous region:—

Così l'animo mio, ch' ancor fuggiva,
Si volse 'ndietro a rimirar lo passo,
Che non lasciò giammai persona viva.

Dunster.

[85] Ver. 325. *Pined with hunger.* Death, in the tenth book of the 'Paradise Lost,' thus describes himself:—

Me, who with eternal famine pine.

Dunster.

[86] Ver. 330.

I saw and heard, for we sometimes
Who dwell this wild, constrain'd by want, come forth
To town or village nigh.

All this is finely in character with the assumed person of the tempter, and tends at the same time to give more effect to the preceding descriptions. It should be considered also that it was not necessary to confine those descriptions merely to that part of the wilderness of Judea, into which our Lord was just now entering, v. 193, or where at most he had not advanced any great way, v. 299.—That wilderness was of a great length, the most habitable part being northward towards the river Jordan; southward it extended into vast and uninhabited deserts, which, in the map in Reland's 'Palæstina,' are termed "vastissimæ solitudines." To describe these, in such a manner as might impress a deep sense of danger in the mind of him to whom he addressed himself, was perfectly consistent with the tempter's purpose.—DUNSTER.

[87] Ver. 339. *Stubs.* Stubs, not shrubs, is undoubtedly the right word, as connected with roots. Thus Milton's own edition of 1671.

[88] Ibid. *To thirst inured*
More than the camel.

It is commonly said that camels will go without water three or four days:—"Sitim et quatriduo tolerant," Plin. 'Nat. Hist.' lib. viii. sect. 26. But Tavernier says, that they will ordinarily live without drink eight or nine days. —NEWTON.

[89] Ver. 348. *For I discern thee other than thou seem'st.* In the concluding book of this poem, our Lord says to the tempter,

Desist; thou art discern'd;
And toil'st in vain.

DUNSTER.

[90] Ver. 349.

Man lives not by bread only, but each word
Proceeding from the mouth of God; who fed
Our fathers here with manna.

The words of St. Matthew, iv. 14, which refer to the eighth chapter of Deuteronomy, ver. 3, where the humiliation of the Israelites in the wilderness, and their being there miraculously fed with manna, are recited as arguments for their obedience; "And he humbled thee, and suffered thee to hunger, and fed thee with manna, which thou knewest not, neither did thy fathers know; that he might make thee know that man doth not live by bread only, but by every word that proceedeth out of the mouth of the Lord doth man live." The poet, who was, beyond a doubt, "mighty in the Scripture," has, with much art, availed himself of the original passage in the Old Testament, as it affords him such an immediate and apposite transition to the miraculous feeding the children of Israel, their great lawgiver, and afterwards Elijah, in the wilderness.—DUNSTER.

[91] Ver. 356. *Knowing who I am.* This is not to be understood of Christ's divine nature. The tempter knew him to be the person "declared the Son of God" by a voice from heaven, v. 385, and that was all that he knew of him.—CALTON.

[92] Ver. 358. *'Tis true, I am that spirit unfortunate.* Satan's instantaneous avowal of himself here has a great and fine effect: it is consistent with a certain dignity of character which is given him in general, through the whole of the 'Paradise Lost.' The rest of his speech is artfully submissive.—DUNSTER.

[93] Ver. 364. *My dolorous prison.* Par. Lost. b. ii. 618.

Through many a dark and dreary vale
They pass'd, and many a region dolorous;
O'er many a frozen, many a fiery Alp. DUNSTER.

Again, in his 'Hymn on the Nativity,' st. xiv.:—

And hell itself will pass away,
And leave her dolorous mansions to the peering day.

Although the adjective 'dolorous' be common in our old poetry, Milton, I am inclined to think, did not forget Dante's usage of it in the 'Inferno,' where Satan is called, c. xxxiv.,

Lo 'mperador del doloroso regno.

TODD.

[94] Ver. 365. *To round this globe of earth.* Milton uses the same phrase in his 'Paradise Lost,' b. x. 684, speaking of the sun:—

Had rounded still the horizon.

THYER.

In Quarle's 'Job Militant,' the devil thus concludes his reply to God's question, Whence comest thou?—

The earth is my dominion, hell 's my home;
I round the world, and so from thence I come.

DUNSTER.

[95] Ver. 366. *Range in the air.* The whole of this passage is very poetical and grand.

[96] Ver. 369. *Uzzean Job.* See the first chapter of Job.

[97] Ver. 372. *To draw the proud king Ahab into fraud.* This story of Ahab is related, 1 Kings, xxii. 19, &c.:—"I saw the Lord sitting on his throne, and all the host of heaven standing by him, on his right hand and on his left. And the Lord said, Who shall persuadè Ahab, that he may go up and fall at Ramoth-gilead? And one said on this manner, and another on that manner. And there came forth a spirit, and stood before the Lord, and said, I will persuade him. And the Lord said unto him, Wherewith? And he said, I will go forth, and I will be a lying spirit

in the mouth of all his prophets. And he said, Thou shalt persuade him, and prevail also: go forth, and do so." This symbolical vision of Micaiah, in which heavenly things are spoken of after the manner of men, in condescension to the weakness of their capacities, our author was too good a critic to understand literally, though as a poet he represents it so.—NEWTON.

The expression here is copied from the 'Paradise Lost,' vii. 143:—

> He . . . . . into fraud
> Drew many, whom their place knows here no more.

TODD.

[98] Ver. 377. *Though I have lost*
Much lustre of my native brightness.

It is said of Satan, in the first book of the 'Paradise Lost,' ver. 591:—

> His form had not yet lost
> All her original brightness:

and when Ithuriel and Zephon, in the end of the fourth book, find him in Paradise, and charge him with being one of the rebel spirits adjudged to hell, Satan asks, if they do not know him: to which Zephon replies:—

> Think not, revolted spirit, thy shape the same,
> Or undiminish'd brightness to be known,
> As when thou stood'st in heaven upright and pure:
> That glory then, when thou no more wast good,
> Departed from thee;——

and in 'Paradise Lost,' b. i. 97. Satan describes himself "changed in outward lustre."—DUNSTER.

[99] Ver. 379. *I have not lost*
To love, at least contemplate and admire,
What I see excellent in good, or fair,
Or virtuous.

In the second book of the 'Paradise Lost,' where the fallen

angels are described doing homage to the public spirit of their chief, it is said,—

for neither do the spirits damn'd
Lose all their virtue:

and, where Satan first sees Adam and Eve in Paradise, he contemplates them with admiration. The turn of the words here very much resembles the following passage in Beaumont and Fletcher's 'Fair Maid of the Inn,' a. v. s. 1:—

Though I have lost my fortune, and lost you
For a worthy father; yet I will not lose
My former virtue; my integrity
Shall not forsake me.

DUNSTER.

[100] Ver. 393. *Lend them oft my aid,*
[9] *Oft my advice by presages and signs,*
And answers, oracles, portents, and dreams,
Whereby they may direct their future life.

The following passage of Cicero reflects so much light on these lines, as would incline one to think that Milton had it in his mind:—"Multa cernunt haruspices; multa augures provident; multa oraculis declarantur, multa vaticinationibus, multa somniis, multa portentis: quibus cognitis, multæ sæpe res hominum sententia atque utilitate partæ," (or, as Lambinus reads, *ex animi sententia atque utilitate partæ*,) "multa etiam pericula depulsa sunt."—'De Nat. Deor.' ii. 65.—NEWTON.

[101] Ver. 400. *Now I feel, by proof,*
That fellowship in pain divides not smart.

Our author had in his eye this line of the poet:—

Solamen miseris socios habuisse doloris.

THYER.

Or these of Ovid, 'Met.' xv. 547:—

Non tamen Egeriæ luctus aliena levare
Damna valent.

DUNSTER.

[102] Ver. 404.

This wounds me most; (what can it less?) that man,
Man fallen shall be restored, I never more.

Very artful: as he could not acquit himself of envy and mischief, he endeavours to soften his crimes, by assigning this cause of them.—WARBURTON.

The poet very judiciously makes the tempter conclude with these lines concerning the restoration of fallen man, in order to lead our Saviour to say something about the manner of it, to know which was one great part of his design; that he might be able, if possible, to counterplot and prevent it. With no less judgment is our Saviour represented, in the following answer, taking no other notice of it than by replying, "Deservedly thou grievest," &c.—THYER.

[103] Ver. 416. *The happy place*
Imparts to thee no happiness, no joy;
Rather inflames thy torment; representing
Lost bliss, to thee no more communicable.

We find the same sentiment also in 'Paradise Lost,' b. ix. 467:—

But the hot hell that always in him burns,
Though in mid heaven, soon ended his delight,
And tortures him now more, the more he sees
Of pleasure, not for him ordain'd.

THYER.

This passage is at once sublime and pathetic.

[104] Ver. 423. *Or pleasure to do ill excites.* Satan, in 'Paradise Lost,' b. i. 159. in his first conference with his infernal compeer, says

To do aught good never will be our task;
But ever to do ill our sole delight.

DUNSTER.

[105] Ver. 428. *In four hundred mouths.* "Then the king

of Israel gathered the prophets together, about four hundred men," 1 Kings, xxii. 6.—DUNSTER.

[106] Ver. 432. *That hath been thy craft,*
By mixing somewhat true to vent more lies.

The following passage from St. Austin may serve to illustrate what Milton here says:—"Miscent tamen isti [dæmones] fallacias; et verum quod nosse potuerint, non docendi magis quam decipiendi fine, prænuntiant."—De Div. Dæmon. sect. 12.—THYER.

[107] Ver. 434.
But what have been thy answers, what but dark,
Ambiguous, and with double sense deluding.

The oracles were often so obscure and dubious, that there was need of other oracles to explain them:—

"Sed jam ad te venio,
Sancte Apollo, qui umbilicum certum terrarum obsides,
Unde superstitiosa primum sæva evasit vox fera.

Tuis enim oraculis Chrysippus totum volumen implevit, partim falsis, ut ego opinor, partim casu veris, ut fit in omni oratione sæpissime; partim flexiloquis et obscuris, ut interpres egeat interprete, et sors ipsa ad sortes referenda sit; partim ambiguis, et quæ ad dialecticum deferenda sint." Cicero, 'De Div.' ii. 56.—CALTON.

Milton, in these lines about the heathen oracles, seems to have had in view what Eusebius says more copiously upon this subject in the fifth book of his 'Preparatio Evangelica.' That learned father reasons in the very same way about them, and gives many instances from history of their delusive and double meanings.—THYER.

Probably Milton had here in mind the exclamation also of Macbeth, when he finds that the weird sisters had shuffled him with ambiguous expressions, Macbeth, a. and s. ult.:

And be these juggling fiends no more believed,
That palter with us in a double sense.

But see also Heywood's 'Hierarchie of Angels,' fol. 1635, p. 442. where the "doubtfull answers of oracles" are noticed, and rightly described :—

> So intricate that none could vnderstand,
> Or meerely toyes and lies ; for their words were,
> By interpointing, so disposed, to beare
> A double sense.

TODD.

[108] Ver. 439. *Instruct.* Thus, b. ii. ver. 399, he writes *suspect* for *suspected.* In the 'Paradise Lost' he always writes the participles at length ; but in this poem he has in every respect condensed his style, which may be one reason why it does not please the million.—DUNSTER.

[109] Ver. 447. *But from him, or his angels president*
In every province.

"Utitur etiam eis Deus (dæmonibus) ad veritatis manifestationem per ipsos fiendam, dum divina mysteria eis per angelos revelantur." The words are quoted from Aquinas. (2da 2dæ Quæst. 172. Art. 6.)—CALTON.

This notion Milton very probably had from Tertullian and St. Austin. Tertullian, speaking of the gods of the heathens and their oracles, says,—"Dispositiones etiam Dei et tunc prophetis concionantibus exceperunt, et nunc lectionibus resonantibus carpunt: ita et hinc sumentes quasdam temporum sortes æmulantur divinitatem, dum furantur divinationem: in oraculis autem, quo ingenio ambiguitates temperent in eventus, sciunt Crœsi, sciunt Pyrrhi." Apol. c. 22. St. Austin, more appositely to our present purpose, answering the heathen boasts of their oracles, says,—"tamen nec ista ipsa, quæ ab eis vix raro et clanculo proferuntur, movere nos debent, si cuiquam dæmonum extortum est id prodere cultoribus suis quod didicerat ex eloquiis prophetarum, vel ex oraculis angelorum." Aug. 'De Div. Dæmonum,' sect. 12. tom. 6. ed. Bened. And again :—"Cum enim vult Deus etiam per

infimos infernosque spiritus aliquem vera cognoscere, temporalia dumtaxat atque ad istam mortalitatem pertinentia; facile est, et non incongruum, ut Omnipotens et Justus, ad eorum pœnam, quibus ista prædicuntur, ut malum quod eis impendet ante quam veniat prænoscendo patientur; occulto apparatu ministeriorum suorum etiam spiritibus talibus aliquid divinationis impertiat, ut quod audiunt ab angelis prænuntient hominibus." De Div. Quæst. ad Simp. l. II. s. iii. tom. 6.—THYER.

[110] Ver. 453. *Then to thyself ascribest the truth foretold.* The demons, Lactantius says, could certainly foresee, and truly foretel, many future events, from the knowledge they had of the dispositions of Providence before their fall: and then they assumed all the honour to themselves; pretending to be the authors and doers of what they predicted. "Nam cum dispositiones Dei præsentiant, quippe qui ministri ejus fuerunt, interponunt se in his rebus; ut quæcunque a Deo vel facta sunt vel fiunt, ipsi potissimum facere aut fecisse videantur." Div. Inst. ii. 16.—CALTON.

[111] Ver. 456. *Henceforth oracles are ceased,* &c. As Milton had before adopted the ancient opinion of oracles being the operations of the fallen angels; so here again he follows the same authority, in making them cease at the coming of our Saviour. See the matter fully discussed in Fontenelle's 'History of Oracles,' and father Baltus's answer to him.—THYER.

Thus Juvenal, Sat. vi. 554:—

Delphis oracula cessant.

And in the fifth book of Lucan's 'Pharsalia,' where Appius is desirous to consult the Delphic oracle, but finds it dumb, the priestess tells him:—

Muto Parnassus hiatu
Conticuit, pressitque Deum; seu spiritus istas
Destituit fauces, mundique in devia versum
Duxit iter:—

seu sponte Deorum
Cyrrha silet.

Thus also Milton, in his 'Hymn on the Nativity:'—

The oracles are dumb, &c.

And before him, Giles Fletcher, in his 'Christ's Victory in Heaven,' st. 82:—

The angels caroll'd loud their song of peace;
The cursed oracles were strucken dumb.

DUNSTER.

[112] Ver. 460 *His living oracle.* Christ is styled by the Greek fathers, "essential life," "the living counsel," and "the living word of God:" and St. John says, that "in him was life, and the life was the light of men," i. 4.—CALTON.

And in Acts, vii. 38. where it is said,—"Who received the lively (or living) oracles to give unto us."—DUNSTER.

[113] Ver. 468. *Sharply thou hast insisted,* &c. The smoothness and hypocrisy of this speech of Satan are artful in the extreme, and cannot be passed over unobserved. —JOS. WARTON.

[114] Ver. 474. *Say and unsay, feign, flatter, or abjure?* Might not Milton possibly intend here, and particularly by the word "abjure," to lash some of his complying friends, who renounced their republican principles at the Restoration?—THYER.

[115] Ver. 478. *Hard are the ways of truth, and rough to walk.* Thus Silius Italicus, b. xv. where Virtue is the speaker:—

Casta mihi domus, et celso stant colle penates;
Ardua saxoso perducit semita clivo;
Asper principio, (nec enim mihi fallere mos est)
Prosequitur labor. Adnitendum intrare volenti.

DUNSTER.

We must not here overpass Milton's 'Preface to his Reason of Church Government,' &c. b. ii.:—"Those —— who will not so much as look upon Truth herself, unless they see her elegantly dressed; that whereas the paths of honesty and good life appear now rugged and difficult, though they be indeed easy and pleasant; they will then appear to all men both easy and pleasant, though they were rugged and difficult indeed." Compare also 'Comus,' ver. 476. et seq.—TODD.

[116] Ver. 480. *Tunable as sylvan pipe or song.* So, in 'Paradise Lost,' v. 149:—

> Such prompt eloquence
> Flow'd from their lips in prose, or numerous verse,
> More tunable than needed lute or harp
> To add more sweetness.

And Shakspeare, 'Midsummer Night's Dream,' a. i. s. 14:—

> More tunable than lark to shepherd's ear.

DUNSTER.

[117] Ver. 482. *Most men admire*
Virtue, who follow not her lore.

Imitated from the well-known saying of Medea, Ovid, 'Met.' viii. 20:—

> Video meliora, proboque;
> Deteriora sequor.

NEWTON.

[118] Ver. 487. *Atheous.* Cicero, speaking of Diagoras, says, "Atheos qui dictus est," De Nat. Deor. i. 23.—DUNSTER.

"Atheous" may have hence been coined by the poet. "Atheul," which has the same signification, is not uncommon in old English.—TODD.

[119] Ver. 490. *Praying or vowing.* Besides sacrifices of prayer and thanksgiving, the Jews had vow-sacrifices,

(Lev. vii. 16.) oblations for vows, (xxii. 18.) and sacrifices in performing their vows. (Numb. xv. 3. 8.)—DUNSTER.

[120] Ibid. *And vouchsafed his voice*
To Balaam reprobate.

An argument more plausible and more fallacious could not have been put into the mouth of the tempter. Perfectly to enter into all the circumstances of this remarkable piece of scripture history, and clearly to apprehend this judicious application of it by the poet in this place, we may refer to bishop Butler's excellent 'Sermon on the Character of Balaam,' or to Shuckford's account of it in the twelfth book of his 'Connection of Sacred and Profane History.'—DUNSTER.

[121] Ver. 496. *Thou canst not more.* So Gabriel replies to Satan, 'Paradise Lost,' b. iv. 1006 :—

Satan, I know thy strength, and thou know'st mine ;
Neither our own, but given : what folly then
To boast what arms can do ! since thine no more
Than Heaven permits.

TODD.

[122] Ver. 499. *Into thin air diffused.* So Virgil, 'Æn.' iv. 278 :—

Et procul in tenuem ex oculis evanuit auram.

NEWTON.

And Shakspeare, 'Tempest,' a. iv. s. 2 :—

These our actors,
As I foretold you, were all spirits, and
Are melted into air, into thin air.

DUNSTER.

[123] Ver. 500. *Her sullen wings.* Virgil, 'Æn.' viii. 369 :—

Nox ruit, et fuscis tellurem amplectitur alis.

And Tasso describes Night covering the sky "with her wings," Gier. Lib. c. viii. st. 57 :—

Sorgea la Notte in tanto, e sotto l'ali
Recopriva del cielo i campi immensi.

Compare Spenser also, 'Faery Queen,' vi. viii. 54:—

And now the even-tide
His broad black wings had through the heavens wide
By this dispread.

And see 'Allegro,' ver. 6.—DUNSTER.

[124] Ibid. *To double-shade.*

i. e. to double the natural shade and darkness of the place. This is more fully expressed in Hogæus's translation of this passage:—

Nam nunc obscuras Nox atra expandere pennas
Cœperat, atque nigras nemorum geminare tenebras.

Thus in 'Comus,' ver. 335 :—

In double night of darkness and of shades.

In a note on which last verse, in Mr. Warton's edition of the 'Juvenile Poems,' the following line of Pacuvius, cited by Cicero, ('De Divinat.' i. 14.) is exhibited :—

Tenebræ conduplicantur, noctisque et nimborum occæcat nigror.

We may also compare Ovid, 'Met.' xi. 548 :—

Tanta vertigine pontus
Fervet, et inducta piceis a nubibus umbra
Omne latet cœlum, duplicataque noctis imago est.

And see ibid. 521.—DUNSTER.

[125] Ver. 502.

And now wild beasts came forth the woods to roam.

This brief description of night coming on in the desert is singularly fine: it is a small but exquisite sketch, which so immediately shows the hand of the master, that his larger and more finished pieces can hardly be rated higher.

The commencement of this description, both in respect of its beginning with an hemistich, and also in the sort of instantaneous coming on of night which it represents, resembles much a passage in Tasso, 'Gier. Lib.' c. iii. st. 71 :—

> Cosi diss' egli ;—e gia la Notte oscura
> Havea tutti del giorno i raggi spenti.

DUNSTER.

The description of the probable manner of our Lord's passing the forty days in the wilderness is very picturesque; and the return of the wild beasts to their paradisiacal mildness is finely touched. The appearance of the tempter in his assumed character; the deep art of his first two speeches, covered, but not totally concealed, by a semblance of simplicity; his bold avowal and plausible vindication of himself; the subsequent detection of his fallacies, and the pointed reproofs of his impudence and hypocrisy on the part of our blessed Lord, cannot be too much admired. Indeed, the whole conclusion of this book abounds so much in closeness of reasoning, grandeur of sentiment, elevation of style, and harmony of numbers; that it may well be questioned, whether poetry on such a subject, and especially in the form of dialogue, ever produced any thing superior to it.

The singular beauty of the brief description of night coming on in the desert, closes the book with such admirable effect, that it leaves us *con la bocca dolce*.—DUNSTER.

PARADISE REGAINED.

BOOK II.

INTRODUCTORY REMARKS.

It is sometimes useful to warn the reader what he is to expect in each portion of a long poem, as it is offered to him. The second book of the 'Paradise Regained' begins soberly,—perhaps in a tone almost prosaic. To begin low, and rise by a gradual climax, is admitted to be one of the great arts of beautiful composition.

The anxiety and alarm felt by the disciples of Jesus, at missing him so soon, while detained in the wilderness, coming suddenly on their joy at the discovery of his advent; and the pathetic yet patient reflections of Mary at the loss of her son, though related with extreme plainness, are full of deep interest, and the most affecting natural touches: they abound in passages which excite human sympathy.

Satan, hitherto defeated in his temptations of our Saviour, now resorts again to his council of peers: at which occurs that magnificent dialogue between the sensual Belial and him, which is at any rate as rich and poetical as the finest in 'Paradise Lost;' and shows a vein of warmth, and imagery, and invention, and language, that is evidence how strongly

the poet's genius was yet in its full bloom and verdure. Satan's answer to Belial is the more powerful, as coming from the prince of darkness himself: how then does the lustful fiend stand rebuked!

Now Jesus had fasted forty days, and began to suffer by hunger: Satan seizes the occasion, and resolves to take advantage of it. Our Saviour, weary and exhausted, slept under the cover of trees, and dreamed of food supplied by an angel, who invited him to eat. He waked with the morning, and found that all was but a dream:—

> Fasting he went to sleep, and fasting waked.

He walked to the top of a hill, to see if there was any human habitation within reach; and there a rich but solitary landscape displayed itself before him, raised magically by Satan and his imps, for the purposes of the delusion which was to follow.

While gazing upon this magnificent prospect, Satan again accosts him, and endeavours to alarm his faith at being left thus destitute:—

> As his words had end,
> Our Saviour, lifting up his eyes, beheld,
> In ample space, under the broadest shade,
> A dinner spread, &c.

Here is an invented array, than which nothing in 'Paradise Lost' can be richer either in imagery or poetical language.

Our Saviour rejects with scorn the temptation: he says:—

> I can at will, doubt not, as soon as thou,
> Command a table in this wilderness,
> And call swift flights of angels ministrant,

Array'd in glory on my cup to attend:
Why shouldst thou then obtrude this diligence
In vain, where no acceptance it can find?
And with my hunger what hast thou to do?
Thy pompous delicacies I contemn,
And count thy specious gifts no gifts, but guiles.

Satan grows angry at the refusal, and

With that
Both table and provision vanish'd quite,
With sound of harpies' wings and talons heard.

The tempter was not yet to be foiled: he now makes an offer of riches, and descants upon their advantages for the purposes of that dominion which he assumes that our Saviour was sent to obtain.

Jesus answers, that wealth without virtue, valour, and wisdom, is impotent; and that the highest deeds have been performed in the lowest poverty: he then expounds what are the duties and what are the cares of a king; and how much more desirable it is to surrender a sceptre than to gain one.

Were there in this book nothing but the spiritual and intellectual part, the thoughts and the sentiments, I, for one, should not think the less of it; but it is not so: there are duly intermixed that material, those picturesque descriptions, those striking incidents of fact, which the common critics and the generality of readers more especially deem to be poetry.

The whole story (and it is a beautiful story) is in part practical, though operated on by immaterial beings, whose delusive powers over our earthly conduct and fate are consistent with our belief. The temptations are such as a

mere human being could not have resisted; and to have resisted them is a true test of Christ's divinity.

But the arguments by which they were resisted, contain the most profound doctrines of religion and morals, such as for ever apply to human life, extend and purify the understanding, and elevate the heart. We should have been glad to have learned the grand results at which the mighty mind of Milton had arrived, even if they had been expressed in prose; but how much more, when arranged in all the glowing eloquence of poetry! when interwoven in a sublime story, and deriving practical application from their embodiments and their progressive influences!

The reply to the allurements of female beauty, and still more to the impotent splendour of wealth, unaccompanied by virtue and talent, is an outburst of imaginative strength and sublimity: it is wisdom irradiated by glory. Whoever does not find himself better and happier by reading and reflecting upon those grand and sentimental arguments, has neither head nor heart, but is a stagnant congeries of clayey coldness and inanimate insusceptibility.

We may be forgiven for dispensing with all poetry, of which the mere result is innocent pleasure; that is, they may lay it aside to whom it is no pleasure. But this is not the case with Milton's poetry: his is the voice of instruction and wisdom, to which he who refuses to listen, is guilty of a crime. If we are so dull, that we cannot understand him without labour and pain, still we are bound to undergo that labour and pain. They who are not ashamed of their own ignorance and inapprehensiveness, are lost.

For the purpose of fixing attention, I suspect that Milton's latinized style is best calculated. He who has more acquired knowledge than native and quick taste, ought to

study him as he studies Virgil and Homer: in him he will find all that is profound and eloquent in the ancient classics, amalgamated, and exalted at the same time by the aid of the sacred writings; all working together in the plastic mind of the most powerful and sublime of human poets.

Strength, not grace, was Milton's characteristic: his grasp was that of an unsparing giant; he showed the sinews and muscles of his naked form: he put on no soft garments of a dove-like tenderness: he neither adorned himself with jewels nor gold leaf; all was plain as nature made him.

Thus his descriptions of scenery, of the seasons, of morning and evening, were rich, but not embellished or sophisticated. In this book, the break of the dawn, the gathering of the night shades, the dark covering of the umbrageous forests, the open and sunny glades, are all painted in the sober hues of visible reality.

There is nothing enfeebling in any of Milton's visionariness. His bold and vigorous mind braces us for action; his strains beget a patient loftiness, prepared for temptations, difficulties, and dangers.

It is in vain for authors to attempt to effectuate this tone by practising the artifices of composition: it is produced solely by the poet's belief in what he writes; by his being under the impulse of the ideal presence of what he represents. He does not conjure up factitious images, factitious feelings, and factitious language. Where the soul is wanting, the dress or form will be of no avail.

Milton's purpose was to represent the embodiment and refraction of what he believed to be truth. What was visible to himself, but not palpable to common eyes, except

by the Muse's aid, he wanted to make palpable and distinct to others. The immaterial world is covered with a mist, or a veil, to all but the gifted; unless they become a mirror for duller sights.

ARGUMENT OF BOOK II.

The disciples of Jesus, uneasy at his long absence, reason amongst themselves concerning it. Mary also gives vent to her maternal anxiety; in the expression of which she recapitulates many circumstances respecting the birth and early life of her Son.—Satan again meets his infernal council, reports the bad success of his first temptation of our blessed Lord, calls upon them for counsel and assistance. Belial proposes the tempting of Jesus with women. Satan rebukes Belial for his dissoluteness, charging on him all the profligacy of that kind ascribed by the poets to the heathen gods, and rejects his proposal as in no respect likely to succeed. Satan then suggests other modes of temptation, particularly proposing to avail himself of our Lord's hungering; and, taking a band of chosen spirits with him, returns to resume his enterprise.—Jesus hungers in the desert.—Night comes on; the manner in which our Saviour passes the night is described.—Morning advances.—Satan again appears to Jesus; and, after expressing wonder that he should be so entirely neglected in the wilderness, where others had been miraculously fed, tempts him with a sumptuous banquet of the most luxurious kind. This he rejects, and the banquet vanishes.—Satan, finding our Lord not to be assailed on the ground of appetite, tempts him again by offering him riches, as the means of acquiring power: this Jesus also rejects, producing many instances of great actions performed by persons under virtuous poverty, and specifying the danger of riches, and the cares and pains inseparable from power and greatness.

PARADISE REGAINED.

BOOK II.

Meanwhile the new-baptized,[1] who yet remain'd
At Jordan with the Baptist, and had seen
Him whom they had so late expressly call'd
Jesus, Messiah, Son of God declared,[2]
And on that high authority had believed,
And with him talk'd, and with him lodged;[3] I mean
Andrew and Simon,[4] famous after known,
With others though in Holy Writ not named;
Now missing him, their joy so lately found,
(So lately found, and so abruptly gone)
Began to doubt, and doubted many days,
And, as the days increased, increased their doubt.
Sometimes they thought he might be only shown,[5]
And for a time caught up to God, as once
Moses was in the mount and missing long;

And the great Thisbite, who on fiery wheels
Rode up to heaven,[6] yet once again to come.[7]
Therefore, as those young prophets then with care
Sought lost Elijah; so in each place these
Nigh to Bethabara,[8] in Jericho
The city of palms,[9] Ænon, and Salem old,
Machærus, and each town or city wall'd
On this side the broad lake Genezaret,
Or in Peræa; but return'd in vain.
Then on the bank of Jordan,[10] by a creek,
Where winds with reeds and osiers whispering play,[11]
Plain fishermen, (no greater men them call)[12]
Close in a cottage low together got,
Their unexpected loss and plaints out breathed:
Alas, from what high hope to what relapse
Unlook'd for are we fallen! our eyes beheld
Messiah certainly now come, so long
Expected of our fathers; we have heard
His words, his wisdom full of grace and truth:
Now, now, for sure, deliverance is at hand;
The kingdom shall to Israel be restored:
Thus we rejoiced, but soon our joy is turn'd
Into perplexity and new amaze:
For whither is he gone? what accident
Hath rapt him from us? will he now retire
After appearance, and again prolong
Our expectation? God of Israel,
Send thy Messiah forth; the time is come!
Behold the kings of the earth, how they oppress
Thy chosen; to what highth their power unjust
They have exalted, and behind them cast

All fear of thee: arise, and vindicate
Thy glory; free thy people from their yoke!
But let us wait; thus far He hath perform'd,
Sent his Anointed, and to us reveal'd him,
By his great prophet, pointed at and shown
In publick, and with him we have conversed:
Let us be glad of this, and all our fears
Lay on his Providence; He will not fail,
Nor will withdraw him now, nor will recall,
Mock us with his blest sight, then snatch him hence:
Soon we shall see our Hope, our Joy, return.
Thus they, out of their plaints, new hope resume
To find whom at the first they found unsought:
But, to his mother Mary, when she saw
Others return'd from baptism, not her Son,
Nor left at Jordan, tidings of him none;
Within her breast though calm, her breast though pure,
Motherly cares and fears got head, and raised
Some troubled thoughts, which she in sighs thus clad:
O, what avails me now that honour high [13]
To have conceived of God, or that salute,—
Hail, highly favour'd, among women blest!
While I to sorrows am no less advanced,
And fears as eminent, above the lot
Of other women, by the birth I bore;
In such a season born, when scarce a shed
Could be obtain'd to shelter him or me
From the bleak air; a stable was our warmth,
A manger his; yet soon enforced to fly [14]

Thence into Egypt, till the murderous king
Were dead, who sought his life, and missing fill'd
With infant blood the streets of Bethlehem:
From Egypt home return'd, in Nazareth
Hath been our dwelling many years;[15] his life
Private, unactive, calm, contemplative,
Little suspicious to any king;[16] but now,
Full grown to man, acknowledged, as I hear,
By John the Baptist, and in publick shown,
Son own'd from heaven by his Father's voice,
I look'd for some great change; to honour? no;
But trouble, as old Simeon plain foretold,
That to the fall and rising he should be
Of many in Israel,[17] and to a sign
Spoken against, that through my very soul
A sword shall pierce: this is my favour'd lot,
My exaltation to afflictions high:
Afflicted I may be, it seems, and blest;[18]
I will not argue that, nor will repine.
But where delays he now? some great intent
Conceals him: when twelve years he scarce had seen,
I lost him, but so found, as well I saw
He could not lose himself,[19] but went about
His Father's business:[20] what he meant I mused,
Since understand; much more his absence now
Thus long to some great purpose he obscures.
But I to wait with patience am inured;
My heart hath been a storehouse long of things
And sayings laid up, portending strange events.[21]
Thus Mary, pondering oft, and oft to mind
Recalling what remarkably had pass'd

Since first her salutation heard, with thoughts
Meekly composed awaited the fulfilling:[22]
The while her Son, tracing the desert wild,
Sole, but with holiest meditations fed,
Into himself descended,[23] and at once
All his great work to come before him set;
How to begin, how to accomplish best
His end of being on earth, and mission high:
For Satan, with sly preface to return,
Had left him vacant; and with speed was gone
Up to the middle region of thick air,
Where all his potentates in council sat:
There, without sign of boast, or sign of joy,[24]
Solicitous and blank, he thus began:
Princes, Heaven's ancient sons, ethereal thrones;
Demonian spirits now, from the element
Each of his reign allotted, rightlier call'd
Powers of fire, air, water, and earth beneath!
(So may we hold our place and these mild seats
Without new trouble!) such an enemy
Is risen to invade us, who no less
Threatens than our expulsion down to hell;
I, as I undertook, and with the vote
Consenting in full frequence[25] was impower'd,
Have found him, view'd him, tasted him;[27] but find
Far other labour to be undergone
Than when I dealt with Adam, first of men:
Though Adam by his wife's allurement fell,
However to this man inferiour far;[28]
If he be man by mother's side at least,

With more than human gifts from Heaven adorn'd.
Perfections absolute, graces divine,
And amplitude of mind to greatest deeds.[29]
Therefore I am return'd, lest confidence
Of my success with Eve in Paradise
Deceive ye to persuasion over-sure
Of like succeeding here: I summon all
Rather to be in readiness, with hand
Or counsel to assist; lest I, who erst
Thought none my equal, now be over-match'd.
So spake the old serpent, doubting; and from all
With clamour was assured their utmost aid
At his command: when from amidst them rose
Belial, the dissolutest spirit that fell,
The sensualest; and, after Asmodai,
The fleshliest incubus;[30] and thus advised:
Set women in his eye, and in his walk,[31]
Among daughters of men the fairest found:
Many are in each region[32] passing fair
As the noon sky; more like to goddesses
Than mortal creatures; graceful and discreet;
Expert in amorous arts, enchanting tongues
Persuasive, virgin majesty with mild
And sweet allay'd, yet terrible to approach;[33]
Skill'd to retire, and, in retiring, draw
Hearts after them[34] tangled in amorous nets.
Such object hath the power to soften and tame
Severest temper, smoothe the rugged'st brow,[35]
Enerve, and with voluptuous hope dissolve,
Draw out with credulous desire,[36] and lead
At will the manliest, resolutest breast,

As the magnetick[37] hardest iron draws.
Women, when nothing else, beguiled the heart
Of wisest Solomon, and made him build,
And made him bow, to the gods of his wives.
To whom quick answer Satan thus return'd:
Belial, in much uneven scale thou weigh'st
All others by thyself; because of old
Thou thyself doat'st on womankind, admiring
Their shape, their colour, and attractive grace,
None are, thou think'st, but taken with such toys.
Before the flood thou with thy lusty crew,
False titled sons of God,[38] roaming the earth,
Cast wanton eyes on the daughters of men,
And coupled with them, and begot a race.
Have we not seen, or by relation heard,[39]
In courts and regal chambers how thou lurk'st,
In wood or grove, by mossy fountain side,
In valley or green meadow,[40] to way-lay
Some beauty rare, Calisto, Clymene,
Daphne, or Semele, Antiopa,
Or Amymone, Syrinx,[41] many more
Too long;[42] then lay'st thy scapes[43] on names adored,
Apollo, Neptune, Jupiter, or Pan,[44]
Satyr, or Faun, or Sylvan? But these haunts
Delight not all: among the sons of men,
How many have with a smile made small account
Of beauty and her lures, easily scorn'd
All her assaults, on worthier things intent!
Remember that Pellean conquerour,[45]
A youth, how all the beauties of the East
He slightly view'd, and slightly overpass'd;[46]

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How he, surnamed of Africa, dismiss'd,
In his prime youth, the fair Iberian maid.[47]
For Solomon, he lived at ease; and, full
Of honour, wealth, high fare, aim'd not beyond
Higher design than to enjoy his state;
Thence to the bait of women[48] lay exposed:
But he, whom we attempt, is wiser far
Than Solomon, of more exalted mind,
Made and set wholly on the accomplishment
Of greatest things. What woman will you find,
Though of this age the wonder and the fame,
On whom his leisure will vouchsafe an eye
Of fond desire?[49] Or should she, confident,
As sitting queen adored on beauty's throne,
Descend with all her winning charms begirt[50]
To enamour, as the zone of Venus once
Wrought that effect on Jove, so fables tell;[51]
How would one look from his majestick brow,
Seated as on the top of Virtue's hill,[52]
Discountenance her despised, and put to rout
All her array; her female pride deject,
Or turn to reverent awe! for beauty stands
In the admiration only of weak minds
Led captive;[53] cease to admire, and all her plumes
Fall flat, and shrink into a trivial toy,
At every sudden slighting quite abash'd.[54]
Therefore with manlier objects we must try
His constancy; with such as have more show
Of worth, of honour, glory, and popular praise;
Rocks, whereon greatest men have oftest wreck'd;
Or that which only seems to satisfy

Lawful desires of nature, not beyond:
And now I know he hungers, where no food
Is to be found, in the wide wilderness:
The rest commit to me; I shall let pass
No advantage, and his strength as oft assay.
He ceased,[55] and heard their grant in loud acclaim;
Then forthwith to him takes a chosen band
Of spirits, likest to himself in guile,[56]
To be at hand, and at his beck appear,
If cause were to unfold some active scene
Of various persons, each to know his part;
Then to the desert takes with these his flight;
Where still from shade to shade the Son of God,
After forty days fasting, had remain'd,
Now hungering first,[57] and to himself thus said:
Where will this end? four times ten days I 've pass'd
Wandering this woody maze, and human food
Nor tasted, nor had appetite; that fast
To virtue I impute not, or count part
Of what I suffer here; if nature need not,
Or God support nature without repast
Though needing, what praise is it to endure?
But now I feel I hunger, which declares
Nature hath need of what she asks; yet God
Can satisfy that need some other way,
Though hunger still remain: so it remain
Without this body's wasting, I content me,
And from the sting of famine fear no harm;
Nor mind it, fed with better thoughts, that feed
Me hungering more to do my Father's will.[58]

It was the hour of night, when thus the Son
Communed in silent walk, then laid him down[59]
Under the hospitable covert nigh
Of trees thick interwoven;[60] there he slept,
And dream'd, as appetite is wont to dream,
Of meats and drinks, nature's refreshment sweet:
Him thought, he by the brook of Cherith stood,[61]
And saw the ravens with their horny beaks
Food to Elijah bringing, even and morn,
Though ravenous, taught to abstain from what they brought:
He saw the prophet also, how he fled
Into the desert, and how there he slept
Under a juniper; then how, awaked,
He found his supper on the coals prepared,
And by the angel was bid rise and eat,
And eat the second time after repose,
The strength whereof sufficed him forty days:
Sometimes that with Elijah he partook,
Or as a guest with Daniel at his pulse.
Thus wore out night; and now the herald lark
Left his ground-nest, high towering to descry
The morn's approach, and greet her with his song:[62]
As lightly from his grassy couch[63] up rose
Our Saviour, and found all was but a dream;[64]
Fasting he went to sleep, and fasting waked.
Up to a hill anon his steps he rear'd,
From whose high top to ken the prospect round,
If cottage were in view, sheep-cote, or herd;
But cottage, herd, or sheep-cote, none he saw;[65]
Only in a bottom saw a pleasant grove,[66]

With chant of tuneful birds resounding loud:
Thither he bent his way, determined there
To rest at noon;[67] and enter'd soon the shade
High roof'd, and walks beneath, and alleys brown,[68]
That open'd in the midst a woody scene:[69]
Nature's own work it seem'd, (Nature taught Art)[70]
And, to a superstitious eye, the haunt
Of wood-gods and wood-nymphs:[71] he view'd it round;
When suddenly a man before him stood;
Not rustick as before, but seemlier clad,[72]
As one in city, or court, or palace bred;
And with fair speech these words to him address'd:
With granted leave[73] officious I return;
But much more wonder that the Son of God
In this wild solitude so long should bide,
Of all things destitute; and, well I know,
Not without hunger. Others of some note,
As story tells, have trod this wilderness;
The fugitive bond-woman, with her son,[74]
Outcast Nebaioth, yet found he relief
By a providing angel; all the race
Of Israel here had famish'd, had not God
Rain'd from heaven manna; and that prophet bold,[75]
Native of Thebez, wandering here was fed[76]
Twice by a voice inviting him to eat.
Of thee these forty days none hath regard,
Forty and more deserted here indeed.

To whom thus Jesus:—What concludest thou hence?
They all had need; I, as thou seest, have none.
How hast thou hunger then? Satan replied.
Tell me, if food were now before thee set,
Wouldst thou not eat?—Thereafter as I like
The giver, answer'd Jesus.[77]—Why should that
Cause thy refusal? said the subtle fiend:
Hast thou not right to all created things?
Owe not all creatures by just right to thee
Duty and service,[78] nor to stay till bid,
But tender all their power? Nor mention I
Meats by the law unclean, or offer'd first
To idols; those young Daniel could refuse:
Nor proffer'd by an enemy; though who
Would scruple that, with want oppress'd? Behold,
Nature ashamed, or, better to express,
Troubled, that thou shouldst hunger, hath purvey'd
From all the elements her choicest store,[79]
To treat thee, as beseems, and as her Lord,
With honour: only deign to sit and eat.
He spake no dream;[80] for, as his words had end,
Our Saviour, lifting up his eyes, beheld,
In ample space under the broadest shade,
A table richly spread,[81] in regal mode,[82]
With dishes piled, and meats of noblest sort
And savour; beasts of chase, or fowl of game,
In pastry built,[83] or from the spit, or boil'd,
Gris-amber-steam'd; all fish, from sea or shore,

Freshet[84] or purling brook, of shell or fin,
And exquisitest name,[85] for which was drain'd
Pontus, and Lucrine bay, and Africk coast:[86]
(Alas, how simple, to these cates compared,
Was that crude apple that diverted Eve!)[87]
And at a stately sideboard,[88] by the wine,
That fragrant smell diffused,[89] in order stood
Tall stripling youths rich clad, of fairer hue
Than Ganymed or Hylas;[90] distant more
Under the trees now tripp'd, now solemn stood,[91]
Nymphs of Diana's train, and Naiades
With fruits and flowers from Amalthea's horn,
And ladies of the Hesperides,[92] that seem'd
Fairer than feign'd of old, or fabled since[93]
Of faery damsels, met in forest wide
By knights of Logres, or of Lyones,
Lancelot, or Pelleas, or Pellenore.[94]
And all the while harmonious airs were heard
Of chiming strings, or charming pipes;[95] and winds
Of gentlest gale Arabian odours fann'd
From their soft wings,[96] and Flora's earliest smells.
Such was the splendour;[97] and the tempter now
His invitation earnestly renew'd:

What doubts the Son of God to sit and eat?
These are not fruits forbidden; no interdict
Defends the touching of these viands pure:
Their taste no knowledge works, at least of evil;[98]
But life preserves, destroys life's enemy,
Hunger, with sweet restorative delight.
All these are spirits of air, and woods, and springs,[99]

Thy gentle ministers, who come to pay
Thee homage, and acknowledge thee their Lord.
What doubt'st thou, Son of God? Sit down, and eat.

To whom thus Jesus temperately replied:—
Said'st thou not that to all things I had right?
And who withholds my power that right to use?
Shall I receive by gift, what of my own,
When and where likes me best, I can command?
I can at will, doubt not, as soon as thou,
Command a table in this wilderness,[100]
And call swift flights of angels[101] ministrant
Array'd in glory on my cup to attend:
Why shouldst thou then obtrude this diligence,
In vain, where no acceptance it can find?
And with my hunger what hast thou to do?
Thy pompous delicacies I contemn,
And count thy specious gifts no gifts, but guiles.[102]

To whom thus answer'd Satan malcontent:
That I have also power to give, thou seest;
If of that power I bring thee voluntary
What I might have bestow'd on whom I pleased,
And rather opportunely in this place
Chose to impart to thy apparent need,
Why shouldst thou not accept it? but I see
What I can do or offer is suspect;
Of these things others quickly will dispose,
Whose pains have earn'd the far-fet spoil. With that,[103]
Both table and provision vanish'd quite
With sound[104] of harpies' wings and talons heard:
Only the importune[105] tempter still remain'd,

And with these words his temptation pursued:
By hunger, that each other creature tames,
Thou art not to be harm'd, therefore not moved;
Thy temperance, invincible besides,
For no allurement yields to appetite;
And all thy heart is set on high designs,
High actions: but wherewith to be achieved?
Great acts require great means of enterprise:
Thou art unknown, unfriended, low of birth,
A carpenter thy father known, thyself
Bred up in poverty and straits at home;
Lost in a desert here and hunger-bit.
Which way, or from what hope, dost thou aspire
To greatness? whence authority derivest?
What followers, what retinue canst thou gain,
Or at thy heels the dizzy multitude,
Longer than thou canst feed them on thy cost?[106]
Money brings honour, friends, conquest, and realms:[107]
What raised Antipater the Edomite,
And his son Herod placed on Judah's throne,[108]
(Thy throne) but gold, that got him puissant friends?
Therefore, if at great things thou wouldst arrive,
Get riches first,[109] get wealth, and treasure heap,
Not difficult, if thou hearken to me:
Riches are mine, fortune is in my hand:
They whom I favour thrive in wealth amain;[110]
While virtue, valour, wisdom, sit in want.
To whom thus Jesus patiently replied:[111]
Yet wealth, without these three, is impotent
To gain dominion, or to keep it gain'd.

Witness those ancient empires of the earth,
In highth of all their flowing wealth dissolved:
But men endued with these have oft attain'd
In lowest poverty to highest deeds;
Gideon, and Jephthah, and the shepherd lad,[112]
Whose offspring on the throne of Judah sat
So many ages, and shall yet regain
That seat, and reign in Israel without end.
Among the heathen, (for throughout the world
To me is not unknown what hath been done
Worthy of memorial) canst thou not remember
Quintius, Fabricius, Curius, Regulus?[113]
For I esteem those names of men so poor,
Who could do mighty things,[114] and could contemn
Riches, though offer'd from the hand of kings.
And what in me seems wanting, but that I
May also in this poverty as soon
Accomplish what they did, perhaps and more?
Extol not riches then,[115] the toil of fools,
The wise man's cumbrance, if not snare; more apt
To slacken Virtue, and abate her edge,
Than prompt her to do aught may merit praise.[116]
What if with like aversion I reject
Riches and realms? yet not, for that a crown,
Golden in show, is but a wreath of thorns,
Brings dangers, troubles, cares, and sleepless nights,
To him who wears the regal diadem,
When on his shoulders each man's burden lies;
For therein stands the office of a king,

His honour, virtue, merit, and chief praise,
That for the publick all this weight he bears.[117]
Yet he, who reigns within himself,[118] and rules
Passions, desires, and fears, is more a king;
Which every wise and virtuous man attains;
And who attains not, ill aspires to rule
Cities of men, or headstrong multitudes,
Subject himself to anarchy within,
Or lawless passions in him, which he serves.[119]
But to guide nations in the way of truth
By saving doctrine, and from errour lead,
To know, and knowing worship God aright,
Is yet more kingly;[120] this attracts the soul,
Governs the inner man, the nobler part:
That other o'er the body only reigns,
And oft by force; which, to a generous mind,
So reigning, can be no sincere delight.[121]
Besides, to give a kingdom hath been thought
Greater and nobler done,[122] and to lay down
Far more magnanimous, than to assume.[123]
Riches are needless then, both for themselves,
And for thy reason why they should be sought,
To gain a sceptre,[124] oftest better miss'd.

NOTES ON BOOK II.

[1] VERSE 1. *Meanwhile the new-baptized*, &c. The greatest, and indeed justest objection to this poem is the narrowness of its plan, which, being confined to that single scene of our Saviour's life on earth, his temptation in the desert, has too much sameness in it; too much of the reasoning, and too little of the descriptive part; a defect most certainly in an epic poem, which ought to consist of a proper and happy mixture of the instructive and the delightful. Milton was himself, no doubt, sensible of this imperfection, and has therefore very judiciously contrived and introduced all the little digressions that could with any sort of propriety connect with his subject, in order to relieve and refresh the reader's attention. The following conversation betwixt Andrew and Simon upon the missing of our Saviour so long, with the Virgin's reflections on the same occasion, and the council of the devils how best to attack their enemy, are instances of this sort, and both very happily executed in their respective ways. The language of the former is cool and unaffected, corresponding most exactly to the humble,

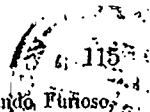
pious character of the speakers: that of the latter is full of energy and majesty, and not inferior to their most spirited speeches in the 'Paradise Lost.'—THYER.

[2] Ver. 4. *Jesus, Messiah, Son of God declared.* This is a great mistake in the poet. All that the people could collect from the declarations of John the Baptist, and the voice from heaven, was that he was a great prophet, and this was all they did in fact collect: they were uncertain whether he was their promised Messiah.—WARBURTON.

But surely the declaration, by the voice from heaven, of Jesus being the beloved Son of God, was, as Milton terms it, "high authority" for believing that he was the Messiah. —John the Baptist had also, John i. 29, expressly called him "the Lamb of God which taketh away the sins of the world," referring, as is generally supposed, to Isaiah, liii. 7. And, the day following, John's giving him the same title, "Behold the Lamb of God!" (John i. 36.) is the ground of Andrew's conversion, who thereupon followed Jesus; and having passed some time with him, declared to his brother Peter, "We have found the Messias, which is, being interpreted, the Christ," John i. 41.—DUNSTER.

[3] Ver. 6. *And with him talk'd, and with him lodged.* These particulars are founded, as Dr. Newton observes, on what is related in the first chapter of St. John, respecting two of John's disciples, (one of whom was Andrew, and the other probably John the Evangelist himself) following Jesus to the place where he dwelt, and abiding with him that day.—DUNSTER.

[4] Ibid. *I mean*
Andrew and Simon.
This sounds very prosaic; but I find a like instance or



two in Harrington's translation of the 'Orlando Furioso,' c. xxxi. st. 46:—

> And calling still upon that noble name,
> That often had the pagans overcome,
> I mean Renaldo's house of Montalbane.

And again, st. 55:—

> How she had seen the bridge of the pagan made,
> I mean the cruel pagan Rodomont.

NEWTON.

[5] Ver. 13. *Sometimes they thought he might be only shown.* Virg. 'Æn.' vi. 870:—

> Ostendent terris hunc tantum fata, nec ultra
> Esse sinent.

NEWTON.

[6] Ver. 16. *And the great Thisbite, who on fiery wheels Rode up to heaven.*

Elijah, snatched up into heaven in a fiery chariot, was a favourite image in Milton's early years, and perfectly coincided with his cast of genius. Thus, in his 'Ode on the Passion,' st. 6:—

> See, see the chariot, and those rushing wheels,
> That whirl'd the prophet up at Chebar flood.

And 'In Obit. Præsul. Eliens.' ver. 49:—

> Vates ut olim raptus ad cœlum senex,
> Aurigæ currus ignei.

And I think we may trace it more than once in the 'Prose Works,' either by comparison or allusion. The "fiery-wheeled throne," in 'Il Penseroso,' has another origin.—T. WARTON.

Mr. Dunster adds, from the poet's 'In Proditionem Bombardicam,' ver. 5:—

> Scilicet hos alti missurus ad atria cœli,
> Sulphureo curru, flammivolisque rotis:
> Qualiter ille, feris caput inviolabile Parcis,
> Liquit Iordanios turbine raptus agros.

Milton seems, in his descriptions of the prophet, to have had in mind Sylvester, 'Du Bart.' edit. 1621. p. 72:—

> Pure spirit, that rapt'st above the firmest sphear,
> In fiery coach thy faithful messenger, &c.

See likewise the note 'In Obit. Præs. El.' ver. 48. Or, as Mr. Dunster also remarks, Sylvester might have been a prompter in the following lines, 'Du Bart.' p. 295:—

> O, thou fair chariot flaming brauely bright,
> Which like a whirl-winde in thy swift career
> Rapt'st vp the Thesbit.

Milton, in like manner, writes "vates terræ Thesbitidis," Eleg. iv. 97. But Castalio likewise defends this orthography: "Elias autem Thesbita," &c. Regum lib. iii. cap. 17. ed. Basil. 1573. Dr. Newton explains "Thisbite" by adding, "Or *Tishbite*," as Elijah is called in the English translation of the Bible; and that Elijah was a native of Thisbe, or Tishbe, a city of the country of Gilead, beyond Jordan. Elijah is called "the Thesbian prophet," in Sandys's 'Christ's Passion,' ed. 1640, p. 51.—Todd.

[7] Ver. 17. *Yet once again to come.* It hath been the opinion of the church, that there would be an Elias before Christ's second coming, as well as before his first; and this opinion the learned Mr. Mede supports from the prophecy of Malachi iv. 5:—"Behold, I will send you Elijah the prophet, before the coming of the great and dreadful day of the Lord," &c. and from what our Saviour says, Matt. xvii. 11:—"Elias truly shall first come, and restore all things." These words our Saviour spake when John Baptist was beheaded, and yet speaks as of a thing future, "and shall restore all things." But as it was not Elias in person, but only in spirit, who appeared before our Saviour's first coming, so will it also be before his second. The reader may see the arguments at large, in Dr. Mede's Discourse xxv. which no doubt Milton had read, not only on account

of the fame and excellence of the writer, but as he was also his fellow-collegian.—NEWTON.

Though our Saviour used the future tense, something must be previously understood to limit the sense of it to what was then passed, to a prophecy already accomplished. Bishop Pearce, in his commentary on the passage, has, "was to come first and restore all things:" and Beza, in a note on the place, says, "Hæc autem intelligenda sunt forma dicendi e medio petita, perinde ac si diceret Christus, Verum quidem est quod scribæ dicunt etiam, videlicet antegressurum fuisse Messiam, et secuturæ instaurationi viam aperturum; sed dico vobis, Eliam jam venisse," &c. It was however the general tradition of the elder writers of the christian church, from those words of Malachi, that Elias the Tishbite was to come in person before our Lord's second advent; which opinion, the Jesuit De la Cerda, in his Commentary on Tertullian, 'De Resurrect. Carn.' c. 23. says, all the ancient Fathers have delivered, "tradit tota Patrum antiquitas."—DUNSTER.

[8] Ver. 20. *Nigh to Bethabara.* It has been observed in a preceding note, (b. i. ver. 193.) that M. D'Anville, in the map of Judea in his 'Géographie Ancienne,' has laid down Bethabara wrong. Adrichomius, in his 'Theatrum Terræ Sanctæ,' places Bethabara on the eastern bank of the river Jordan, at a small distance from the Dead Sea, nearly opposite Jericho. Indeed, if we consider it to have been the place where the Israelites passed over Jordan to go into the land of Canaan, on whichever side of the river we place it, it must have been nearly opposite Jericho; as it is expressly said, Joshua iii. 16. "the people passed over right against Jericho." The Eastern travellers also show, that the place, where the tradition of that country supposes Jesus to have been baptized by John in Jordan, was not more than a day's journey distant from Jerusalem; and that Jericho lay directly in the way to it. (See Pocock's

'Travels in the East,' and Maundrell's Journal.) Bishop Pearce places Bethabara on the same side of the river with Jericho, that is, on the western bank. This opinion he grounds on what is said, Judges, vii. 24. about the inhabitants of Mount Ephraim "taking the waters," (i. e. taking possession of all the springs,) from them "unto Bethabara and Jordan." Bethabara indeed (John i. 28.) is described "beyond Jordan," πέραν τοῦ Ἰορδάνου: but this bishop Pearce reconciles by showing that πέραν often signifies in Scripture, "on the side of," or "on this side of." For this construction of πέραν, he cites many authorities in his note on Matt. iv. 15, and likewise refers to Casaubon's note on John i. 28. But it should be observed that Beza has the same remark, and that he renders πέραν τοῦ Ἰορδάνου, not *trans Jordanum*, but *secus Jordanum*, "nigh to Jordan," both in Matt. iv. 15. and John i. 28. St. Jerom, 'De Nominibus Hebræis,' speaks of Bethabara, as standing partly on the western, and partly on the eastern bank of the river Jordan.—DUNSTER.

[9] Ver. 21. *The city of palms*, &c. Jericho is called "the city of palms," Deut. xxxiv. 3: and Josephus, Strabo, Pliny, and all writers, describe it as abounding with those trees. Ænon is mentioned, John iii. 23, as is likewise Salim or Salem: but there appears to be no particular reason for our author's calling it "Salem old," unless he takes it to be the same with the Shalem mentioned Gen. xxxiii. 18. or confounds it with the Salem where Melchizedek was king. Machærus was a castle in the mountainous part of Peræa or the country beyond Jordan, which river is well known to run through the lake of Genezareth, or the sea of Tiberias, or the sea of Galilee, as it is otherwise called: so that they searched in each place on this side Jordan, or in Peræa, πέραν Ἰορδάνου, beyond it.—NEWTON.

By the expression, "on this side the broad lake Genezareth," I would understand not on the opposite side of the

river to Peræa, but below the lake of Genezareth, or to the south of it, between that and the Asphaltic Lake, or the Dead Sea; which is exactly the situation of the places here mentioned, none of which could be properly said to have stood on this side, that is, on the western side of the lake of Genezareth, though three of them stood on the western side of the river Jordan. *Or* in Peræa, may be only understood to mean *and* in Peræa, or *even* in Peræa: such is often the conjunctive sense of *vel*, and sometimes of *aut* in Latin, and of ἢ in Greek. It is probable that Milton had the same idea of the situation of Bethabara, with that noticed in the preceding note, as admitted by bishop Pearce, and before suggested by Beza and Casaubon. This he may be supposed to have acquired from Beza, whose translation of the Greek Testament with notes, we may imagine, was in no small degree of repute, at the time when our author visited Geneva. Accordingly, the first place where he makes the disciples seek Jesus is Jericho, on the same side of the river as Bethabara, and the nearest place of any consequence to it; then Ænon and Salem, both likewise on the same side, but higher up towards the lake of Genezareth; then he seems to make them cross the river, and seek him in all the places in the opposite country of Peræa, down to the town and strong fortress of Machærus, which is mentioned by Josephus, 'De Bello Jud.' l. vii. c. 6. Milton had good authority for terming Salem, "Salem old." St. Jerom shows, that the Salem, Gen. xxxiii. 18. was not Jerusalem, "sed oppidum juxta Scythopolim, quod usque hodie appellatur Salem; ubi ostenditur palatium Melchizedec, ex magnitudine ruinarum veteris operis ostendens magnificentiam." See Hieronym. Epist. cxxvi. ad Evag.—DUNSTER.

[10] Ver. 25. *On the bank of Jordan.* Mr. Dunster observes, that Maundrell, in his 'Journey to Jerusalem,' &c. describes the river Jordan as having its banks in some parts covered so thick with bushes and trees, such as tamarisks,

oleanders, and willows, that they prevented the water from being seen till any one had made his way through them. In this thicket, he says, several sorts of wild beasts harbour, which are frequently washed out of their covert by the sudden overflowings of the river. Hence that allusion in Jeremiah, xlix. 19: "Behold, he shall come up like a lion from the swelling of Jordan." The same critic also notices the reference made to the reedy banks of Jordan, in Giles Fletcher's 'Christ's Triumph over Death,' st. 2:—

Or whistling reeds that rutty Jordan laves.

Milton, by the distinction which he here makes, had perhaps noticed Sandys's account of Jordan, in his 'Travels;' who says, "Passing along, it maketh two lakes; the one in the Vpper Galilee, named Samachontis (now Houle), in the summer for the most part dry, ouergrowne with shrubs and reeds, which afford a shelter for bores and leopards; the other in the Inferior, called the Sea of Galilee, the lake of Genezareth, and of Tyberias," &c. p. 141. edit. 1615.—TODD.

[11] Ver. 26. *Whispering play.* The whispering of the wind is an image that Milton is particularly fond of, and has introduced in many beautiful passages of his 'Paradise Lost.' Thus, in the opening of the fifth book, where Adam wakens Eve:—

then with voice
Mild as when Zephyrus on Flora breathes,
Her hand soft touching, whisper'd thus.

He also applies whispering to the flowing of a stream; to the air that plays upon the water, or by the side of it; and to the combined sounds of the breeze and the current. In the fourth book of this poem, he terms the river Ilyssus, a "whispering stream:" and in 'Paradise Lost,' b. iv. 325, he describes

a tuft of shade that on a green
Stood whispering soft by a fresh fountain side.

In his 'Lycidas,' ver. 136. likewise, he addresses the

> valleys low, where the mild whispers use
> Of shades, and wanton winds, and gushing brooks.

See also 'Paradise Lost,' b. iv. 158. viii. 516: "The mild whisper of the refreshing breeze" he had before introduced in his Latin poem, 'In Adventum Veris,' ver. 27. which might have been originally suggested to him by Virgil's 'Culex,' v. 152:—

> At circa passim fessæ cubuere capellæ,
> Excelsisque super dumis; quos leniter adflans
> Aura susurrantis possit cŏnfundere venti.

DUNSTER.

[12] Ver. 27. *Plain fishermen, (no greater men them call)* Thus Spenser, in the beginning of his 'Shepherd's Calendar:'—

> A shepherd's boy (no better do him call).

NEWTON.

[13] Ver. 66. *O, what avails me now that honour high,* &c. In several parts of this speech Milton appears to have had Vida in his mind. In this opening of it, at verse 77, and from verse 87 to 92, we plainly trace him to Mary's lamentation under the cross, 'Christ.' v. 870:—

> At non certe olim præpes demissus Olympo
> Nuntius hæc pavidæ dĕderat promissa puellæ.
> Sic una ante alias felix ego, sic ego cœli
> Incedo regina? mea est hæc gloria magna,
> Hic meus altus honos. Quo reges munera opima
> Obtulerunt mihi post partus? Quo carmina læta
> Cœlestes cecinere chori, si me ista manebat
> Sors tamen, et vitam, cladem hanc visura, trahebam?
> Felices illæ, natos quibus impius hausit
> Insontes regis furor ipso in limine vitæ,
> Dum tibi vana timens funus molitur acerbum.
> Ut cuperem te diluvio cecidisse sub illo!

Hos, hos horribili monitu trepidantia corda
Terrificans senior luctus sperare jubebat,
Et cecinit fore, cum pectus mihi figeret ensis:
Nunc alte mucro, nunc alte vulnus adactum.

DUNSTER.

[14] Ver. 75. *Yet soon enforced to fly*, &c. We may compare the following stanza of Giles Fletcher's 'Christ's Victory in Heaven:'—

And yet but newly he was infanted,
And yet already he was sought to die;
Yet scarcely born, already banished;
Not able yet to go, and forced to fly;
But scarcely fled away, when by and by
The tyrant's sword with blood is all defiled, &c.

DUNSTER.

[15] Ver. 79. *In Nazareth*
Hath been our dwelling many years.

She mentions this as part of their distress; because the country of Galilee, whereof Nazareth was a city, was the most despised part of Palestine, despised by the Jews themselves: and therefore Nathanael asketh Philip, John i. 46:—"Can there any good thing come out of Nazareth?"—NEWTON.

This passage does not strike me exactly in the same light as it does Dr. Newton. All this description of the early private life of our Saviour seems rather designed to contrast and to give more effect to the expectations of Mary, where she says,

but now
Full grown to man, acknowledged, as I hear,
By John the Baptist, and in publick shown,
Son own'd from heaven by his Father's voice,
I look'd for some great change.

DUNSTER.

[16] Ver. 80. *His life*
Private, unactive, calm, contemplative,
Little suspicious to any king.

Very possibly not without an intended reference to Milton's own way of life after the Restoration.—DUNSTER.

[17] Ver. 88.
That to the fall and rising he should be
Of many in Israel, &c.

See St. Luke ii. 34, 35. These are the afflictions that Mary notices: not the circumstances of dwelling in a disreputable place; but her anxiety about her son, and what she then suffered, and was still to suffer, upon his account. —DUNSTER.

[18] Ver. 93. *Afflicted I may be, it seems, and blest.* How charmingly does Milton here verify the character he had before given of the blessed Virgin in the lines above!

Within her breast though calm, her breast though pure,
Motherly cares and fears got head.

We see at one view the piety of the saint, and the tenderness of the mother; and I think nothing can be conceived more beautiful and moving than the sudden start of fond impatience in the third line, "But where delays he now?" breaking in so abruptly upon the composed resignation expressed in the two preceding ones. The same beauty is continued in her suddenly checking herself, and resuming her calm and resigned character again in these words:— "Some great intent conceals him."—THYER.

[19] Ver. 98. *He could not lose himself.* A conceit and jingle unworthy of our author.—JOS. WARTON.

What jingle exists between *found* and *lose* I know not; but these are the associations of language, not conceits: contrariety is one of the principles of association.

[20] Ibid. *But went about*
His Father's business.

"And he said unto them, How is it that ye sought me? Wist ye not that I must be about my Father's business?" Luke ii. 49.—DUNSTER.

[21] Ver. 103.
My heart hath been a storehouse long of things
And sayings laid up, portending strange events.

Alluding to what is said of her, Luke ii. 19. "But Mary kept all these things, and pondered them in her heart:" and see also ver. 51. So consistent is the part that she acts here with her character in Scripture.—NEWTON.

By recurring to what passed at the river Jordan among Jesus's new disciples and followers upon his absence, and by making Mary express her maternal feelings upon it, the poet has given an extent and variety to his subject. It might perhaps be wished that all which he has put into the mouth of the Virgin respecting the early life of her son, had been confined solely to this place, instead of a part being incorporated in our Lord's soliloquy in the first book. There it seems awkwardly introduced; but here I conceive her speech might have been extended with good effect.—DUNSTER.

[22] Ver. 107. *With thoughts*
Meekly composed awaited the fulfilling.

This is beautifully expressed. There is a passage somewhat similar, in 'Paradise Lost,' b. xii. 596, where Michael, having concluded what he had to show Adam from the mountain, and what he had farther to inform him of in narration there, says they must now descend from this "top of speculation;" and bidding Adam "go waken Eve," adds,

Her also I with gentle dreams have calm'd
Portending good, and all her spirits composed
To meek submission.

DUNSTER.

[23] Ver. 111. *Into himself descended.* Pers. Sat. iv. 23.

Ut nemo in sese tentat descendere!

NEWTON.

[24] Ver. 119. *There, without sign of boast, or sign of joy.* In contrast to the boasting manner in which Satan had related his success against man, on his return to Pandæmonium, 'Paradise Lost,' b. x. 460.—DUNSTER.

[25] Ver. 122.

Demonian spirits now, from the element
Each of his reign allotted, rightlier call'd
Powers of fire, air, water, and earth beneath!

It was a notion among the ancients, especially among the Platonists, that there were demons in each element, some visible, others invisible, in the æther, and fire, and air, and water; so that no part of the world was devoid of soul, as Alcinous, in his summary of the Platonic doctrines, says, cap. 5. Michael Psellus, in his dialogue concerning the operation of demons, from which Milton borrowed some of his notions of spirits, speaks to the same purpose; that there are many kinds of demons and of all sorts of forms and bodies; so that the air above us and around us is full, the earth and the sea are full, and the inmost and deepest recesses: and he divides them into six kinds; the fiery, the aery, the earthy, the watery, the subterraneous, and the lucifugous, p. 45. edit. Lutet. Paris. 1615. But the demons not only resided in the elements, and partook of their nature, but also presided and ruled over them; as Jupiter in the air, Vulcan in the fire, Neptune in the water, Cybele in the earth, and Pluto under the earth.—NEWTON.

[26] Ver. 130. *In full frequence.* Milton, in his 'History of England,' has said, "The assembly was full and frequent:" and in 'Paradise Lost,' b. i. 797, the council of devils was "frequent and full." Here the adjective is formed into

a substantive, as in b. i. 128: and Shakspeare uses it in the same manner, 'Timon,' a. v. s. 3.

> Tell Athens, in the frequence of degree,
> From high to low throughout.

NEWTON.

[27] Ver. 131. *Tasted him.* This is a Grecism, Γεύομαι signifies, not only *gusto*, but likewise *experior, periculum facio.* —DUNSTER.

[28] Ver. 135. *However to this man inferiour far,* &c. I have ventured to correct the punctuation. The passage in the first editions, and in Dr. Newton's, stands pointed thus:

> However to this man inferiour far,
> If he be man by mother's side at least,
> With more than human gifts from Heaven adorn'd, &c.

On this, Mr. Calton observes: "The tempter had no doubt of Christ's being a man by the mother's side; but the want of a comma in its due place after 'If he be man,' hath puzzled both the sense and the construction. *He is* must be understood at the end of the verse, to support the syntax;

> If he be man, by mother's side at least (he is)."

Dr. Newton has however preserved the pointing of Milton's own edition, because some, he says, may choose to join the whole together, and understand it thus: Satan had heard Jesus declared from Heaven, and knew him to be the Son of God; and now, after the trial he had made of him, he questions if he be man even by the mother's side; "If he be man by mother's side at least." He further observes, that it is the purport of Satan, in this speech, not to say any thing to the evil spirits that may lessen, but every thing that may raise their idea of his antagonist. It seems to me

that there can be no doubt respecting this passage. Dr. Newton certainly sees it in its true light: but I conceive his sense of it is strengthened and brought forward with additional beauty, and the whole of the sentence is rendered more clear and perfect, by the punctuation which I have adopted; and which I think most probable to have been intended by Milton.—DUNSTER.

[29] Ver. 137.

With more than human gifts from Heaven adorn'd,
Perfections absolute, graces divine,
And amplitude of mind to greatest deeds.

Many lines of the 'Paradise Regained' have been censured as harsh and inharmonious; but even of these the greater part may be vindicated, (as it has been done in some instances by Mr. Thyer) by showing that they were very far from being of that kind *quas incuria fudit;* and that many of them are peculiarly expressive, and were purposely designed as such by the poet. The three lines above cited seem however secure from every possibility of disapprobation: they are so eminently beautiful, that they must strike every ear that is not quite devoid of feeling and of taste. Mr. Thyer particularly notices the fine effect of the last line, and the dignity and significancy of the expression "amplitude of mind;" which he also supposes might have been suggested by the following passage in Tully's 'Tusc. Disput.' ii. 25. —"Hoc igitur tibi propone, amplitudinem et quasi quandam exaggerationem quam altissimam animi, quæ maxime eminet contemnendis et despiciendis doloribus, unam esse omnium rem pulcherrimam."—DUNSTER.

[30] Ver. 150.

Belial, the dissolutest spirit that fell,
The sensualest; and, after Asmodai,
The fleshliest incubus.

I have heard these three lines objected to as harsh and

inharmonious, but in my opinion the very objection points out a remarkable beauty in them. It is true, they do not run very smoothly off the tongue; but then they are with much better judgment so contrived, that the reader is obliged to lay a particular emphasis, and to dwell for some time upon the word in each verse, which most strongly expresses the character described, viz. "dissolutest, sensualest, fleshliest." This has a very good effect by impressing the idea more strongly upon the mind, and contributes even in some measure to increase our aversion to the odious character of Belial, by giving an air of detestation to the very tone of voice with which these verses must necessarily be read.—THYER.

This is a just remark of Thyer: it is happy where the metre requires that the strongest accent should be thrown where it is most necessary to enforce the sense.

The character of Belial in the 'Paradise Lost,' and the part he sustains there, sufficiently show how properly he is introduced upon the present occasion. He is here said to be the "fleshliest incubus after Asmodai;" or "Asmadai," as it is written, 'Paradise Lost,' b. vi. 365; or "Asmodeus," b. iv. 168, the lustful angel who loved Sarah the daughter of Raguel, and destroyed her seven husbands, as we read in the book of Tobit.—NEWTON.

[31] Ver. 153. *Set women in his eye*, &c. As this temptation is not mentioned in the Gospels, it could not with any propriety have been proposed to our Saviour; it is much more fitly made the subject of debate among the wicked spirits themselves. All that can be said in praise of the power of beauty, and all that can be alleged to depreciate it, is here summed up with greater force and elegance, than I ever remember to have seen in any other author.—NEWTON.

This temptation is something in the style of Tasso, where Satan suggests to Hedroart sending Armida to tempt and corrupt Godfrey, 'Gier. Lib.' c. iv.—DUNSTER.

[32] Ver. 155. *Many are in each region,* &c. Milton, with all his philosophical composure, appears to have been no stranger to the strong perceptions of the passion of love. In his first Elegy he speaks feelingly of the power of beauty, ver. 53 :—

Ah! quoties dignæ stupui miracula formæ, &c.

In the seventh Elegy, written at the age of nineteen, he mentions the first time of his falling in love. He met an unknown fair on some public walks, in or about London; was suddenly and violently captivated, but had no opportunity of declaring his affection and gaining her acquaintance. He in vain ardently wishes to see her again, and flatters his imagination that her heart is not made of adamant. Five of his Italian Sonnets, and his Canzone, are amatorial; and were perhaps inspired by Leonora, [Baroni,] a young lady whom he had heard sing at Rome, and whom he celebrates in three Latin epigrams. But these were among the vanities of his youth. Yet at a much later and cooler period, when he wrote the present poem, we find him deeply impressed with at least a remembrance of the various and irresistible allurements of beauty. These exquisite lines, ver. 155 to ver. 169, were written by no Stoic. It is certain, that no poet has given more graceful and attractive images of beauty than Milton in his various portraits of Eve, each in a new aspect and attitude. —T. WARTON.

[33] Ver. 159. *Virgin majesty with mild*
And sweet allay'd, yet terrible to approach.

Possibly suggested by Claudian, 'Cons. Prob. et Ol.' 91 :—

Miscetur decori virtus, pulcherque severo
Armatur terrore pudor.

See also 'Paradise Lost,' b. ix. 489, &c.—DUNSTER.

Perhaps Milton remembered the description of beauty in

'Solomon's Song,' ch. vi. 4:—"Thou art beautiful, O my love, as Tirzah, comely as Jerusalem, terrible as an army with banners."—TODD.

[34] Ver. 161. *Skill'd to retire, and, in retiring, draw Hearts after them.*

In the same manner, Milton, in his description of Eve, 'Paradise Lost,' b. viii. 504:—

> Not obvious, not obtrusive, but retired,
> The more desirable.

THYER.

[35] Ver. 164. *Smoothe the rugged'st brow.* Thus in the 'Penseroso,' 58:—

> Smoothing the rugged brow of Night.

DUNSTER.

[36] Ver. 166. *Draw out with credulous desire.* This beautiful expression was formed partly upon Horace, Od. iv. i. 30:—

> Spes animi credula mutui:

and partly, as Mr. Thyer thinks, from a passage in the 'Andria' of Terence, a. iv. s. 1:—

> Non tibi satis esse hoc visum solidum est gaudium,
> Nisi me lactasses amantem, et falsa spe produceres?

NEWTON.

"Credulous" might have been suggested by an Ode of Horace, which Milton himself has translated:—

> Qui nunc te fruitur credulus aurea;
> Qui semper vacuam, &c.

DUNSTER.

[37] Ver. 168. *As the magnetick*, &c. It should be the magnet, or magnetic stone. But Milton often converts the adjective, and uses it as the substantive.—NEWTON.

Lucian hath this simile in his 'Imagines,' vol. ii. p. 2. ed. Græv.:—"But if the fair one once look upon you,

what is it that can get you from her? She will draw you after her at pleasure, bound hand and foot, just as the loadstone draws iron." We may observe, that Milton, by restraining the comparison to the power of beauty over the wisest men and the most stoical tempers, hath given it a propriety which is lost in a more general application. —CALTON.

Claudian, having very poetically described the powers of the magnet, concludes his 'Idyllium,' in a manner that possibly might have suggested to Milton some of the preceding lines:—

Quæ duras jungit concordia mentes?
Flagrat anhela silex, et amicum saucia sentit
Materiem, placidosque chalybs cognoscit amores.
Sic Venus horrificum belli compescere regem,
Et vultu mollire solet, cum sanguine præceps
Æstuat, et strictis mucronibus asperat iras.
Sola feris occurrit equis, solvitque tumorem
Pectoris, et blando præcordia temperet igni.
Pax animo tranquilla datur, pugnasque calentes
Deserit, et rutilas declinat in oscula cristas.
Quæ tibi, sæve puer, non est permissa potestas?
Tu magnum superas fulmen, &c.

DUNSTER.

[36] Ver. 178. *Before the flood thou with thy lusty crew, False titled sons of God*, &c.

It is to be lamented that our author has so often adopted the vulgar notion of the angels having commerce with women, founded upon that mistaken text of Scripture, Gen. vi. 2:—"The sons of God saw the daughters of men, that they were fair; and they took them wives of all which they chose." See 'Paradise Lost,' b. iii. 463, &c. But though he seems to favour that opinion, as we may suppose, to embellish his poetry; yet he shows elsewhere that he understood the text rightly, of the sons of Seth, who were the worshippers of the true God, intermarrying with

the daughters of wicked Cain, 'Paradise Lost,' b. xi. 621. 625.—NEWTON.

[39] Ver. 182. *Have we not seen, or by relation heard.* This passage is censured by Dr. Warburton, as suiting only the poet speaking in his own person; but surely there is no impropriety in the arch-fiend's being well acquainted with the fables of the heathen mythology, and the amours and adventures of their gods, or, (according to Milton's system) his own infernal compeers. If we censure this passage, we must still more decisively condemn one in the fourth book; where, in answer to Satan's speech, describing, while he shows it, the splendour of Imperial Rome, our Lord, taking up the subject, carries on the description to the luxurious way of living among the Romans of that time, with this verse in a parenthesis,—

For I have also heard, perhaps have read.

DUNSTER.

[40] Ver. 184. *In wood or grove, by mossy fountain side,*
In valley or green meadow.

Thus, in Shakspeare's 'Midsummer Night's Dream,' Puck, speaking of Oberon and Titania, says:—

And now they never meet in grove or green,
By fountain clear, &c. DUNSTER.

[41] Ver. 186. *Calisto, Clymene,*
Daphne, or Semele, Antiopa,
Or Amymone, Syrinx.

All these mistresses of the gods might have been furnished from Ovid, our author's favourite Latin poet.

DUNSTER.

[42] Ver. 188. *Many more*
Too long.

A concise way of speaking for "many more too long to mention." The author had used it before, 'Paradise

Lost,' b. iii. 473. Indeed more would have been "too long," and it would have been better if he had not enumerated so many of the loves of the gods. These things are known to every school-boy, but add no dignity to a divine poem; and in my opinion are not the most pleasing subjects in painting any more than in poetry.—NEWTON.

Poetry, as strictly discriminated from prose, may be defined, elevated and ornamented language. Among the most allowed modes of elevating and decorating language, independent of metrical arrangement, mythological references and allusions, and classical imitations hold a principal place. A poet precluded from these would be miserably circumscribed; and might with equal or better effect relate the fable which he imagines, the historic facts which he records, or the precepts which he lays down, in that species of language which asks no ornaments but purity and perspicuity. A divine poem certainly requires to be written in the chastest style, and to be kept perfectly free from the glare of false ornament: but it must still be considered that the great reason of exhibiting any serious truths, and especially the more interesting facts of religious history, through the medium of poetry, is thereby more powerfully to attract the attention. Poetry, to please, must continue to be pleasing. In the beauty and propriety of his references and allusions, the poet shows the perfection of his taste and judgment, as much as in any other circumstance whatever; and Milton has eminently distinguished himself in this respect. How beautifully has he sprinkled his 'Paradise Lost' with the flowers of classic poetry, and the fictions of Greek and Roman mythology! And he has done this with so judicious a hand, with a spirit so reverent; that the most religiously delicate ear cannot but be captivated with it. I confess my surprise that Dr. Newton does not see the passage before us in this light. It appears to me not only in the highest degree justifiable, but absolutely as

one of those *loci laudandi* which the best critics ever delight to exhibit from the works of the more eminent poets. Milton here admirably avails himself of the fabulous amours of the heathen deities: he transfers them to the fallen angels, and to Belial and "his lusty crew;" and, by the judicious application of these disgraceful tales, he gives them a propriety which they never before possessed: he furnishes even the school-boy with a moral to the fable which he has been reading; and recalls to maturer minds the classical beauty of these fabulous descriptions, which at once relieve and adorn his divine poem.—DUNSTER.

[43] Ver. 189. *Thy scapes.* This is a Gallicism, *échappée*, a prank or frolic.—DUNSTER.

[44] Ver. 190. *Apollo, Neptune, Jupiter, or Pan.* Calisto, Semele, and Antiopa, were mistresses to Jupiter; Clymene and Daphne to Apollo; and Syrinx to Pan. Both here and elsewhere, Milton considers the gods of the heathens as demons or devils. Thus, in the Septuagint version of the Psalms, Πάντες οἱ θεοὶ τῶν ἐθνῶν δαιμόνια, Psalm xcvi. 5. and likewise in the Vulgate Latin, "Quoniam omnes Dii gentium dæmonia." And the notion of the demons having commerce with women in the shape of heathen gods is very ancient, and is expressly asserted by Justin Martyr, 'Apol.' i. p. 10. and 33. edit. Thirlbii.—NEWTON.

[45] Ver. 196. *Remember that Pellean conquerour,* &c. Alexander the Great was born at Pella in Macedonia: his continence and clemency to Darius's queen and daughters, and the other Persian ladies whom he took captive after the battle of Issus, are commended by the historians: "Tum quidem ita se gessit, ut omnes ante eum reges et continentia et clementia vincerentur: virgines enim regias excellentis formæ tam sancte habuit, quam si eodem quo ipse parente genitæ forent: conjugem ejusdem, quam nulla ætatis suæ

pulchritudine corporis vicit, adeo ipse non violavit, ut summam adhibuerit curam, ne quis captivo corpori illuderet," &c. Quint. Curt. lib. iii. cap. 9. He was then a young conqueror, of about twenty-three years of age; "a youth," as Milton expresses it.—NEWTON.

See Juvenal, sat. x. 168:

Unus Pellæo juveni non sufficit orbis.

DUNSTER.

[46] Ver. 197.

How all the beauties of the East
He slightly view'd, and slightly overpass'd.

Alexander, we know from history, did not "slightly overpass all the beauties of the East."—DUNSTER.

[47] Ver. 199.

How he, surnamed of Africa, dismiss'd,
In his prime youth, the fair Iberian maid.

The continence of Scipio Africanus at the age of twenty-four, and his generosity in restoring a beautiful Spanish lady to her husband and friends, are celebrated by Polybius, Livy, Valerius Maximus, and various other authors.—NEWTON.

[48] Ver. 204. *Thence to the bait of women, &c.* This remark, applied by Satan to Solomon, the example cited by Belial, induces me to notice the description of Belial by Wierus, 'Pseudomonarchia Dæmonum,' edit. Basil. 1582, p. 919. "Sunt quidam necromantici, qui asserunt ipsum Salomonem, quodam die astutia cujusdam mulieris seductum, orando se inclinasse versus simulacrum Belial nomine," &c. Wierus doubts this particular circumstance. But see 1 Kings, xi. 1—8. and 'Par. Lost,' b. i. 401. and the present book, ver. 169.—TODD.

[49] Ver. 210.

On whom his leisure will vouchsafe an eye
Of fond desire?

The "eye of fond desire" is very beautifully expressed by Æschylus, whom our author perhaps had in view, 'Suppl.' ver. 1011.—THYER.

Æschylus has also the immediate expression, "the eye of desire," in 'Prometh.' ver. 655.—DUNSTER.

[50] Ver. 211.

Or should she, confident,
As sitting queen adored on beauty's throne,
Descend with all her winning charms begirt, &c.

This is clearly from the same palette and pencil as the following highly-coloured passage, 'Par. Lost,' b. viii. 59.

With goddess-like demeanour forth she went,
Not unattended; for on her as queen
A pomp of winning Graces waited still,
And from about her shot darts of desire
Into all eyes to wish her still in sight.

DUNSTER.

[51] Ver. 215. *So fables tell.* These words look as if the poet had forgot himself, and spoke in his own person rather than in the character of Satan.—NEWTON.

[52] Ver. 216.

One look from his majestick brow,
Seated as on the top of Virtue's hill.

Here is the construction that we so often meet with in Milton: "from his majestick brow," that is, from the majestic brow of him seated as on the top of Virtue's hill: and the expression "of Virtue's hill," was probably in allusion to the rocky eminence on which the Virtues are placed in the Table of Cebes; or the arduous ascent up the hill, to

which Virtue is represented pointing in the best designs of the judgment of Hercules.—NEWTON.

Milton's meaning here is best illustrated by a passage in Shakspeare, which most probably he had in his mind. Hamlet, in the scene with his mother, pointing to the picture of his father, says,

> See what a grace was seated on this brow!
> Hyperion's curls; the front of Jove himself;
> An eye like Mars to threaten or command, &c.

See also 'Love's Labour's Lost,' a. iii. s. 4. "Greatness, nobleness, authority, and awe," says Bentley, "are by all Greek and Latin poets placed in the forehead." See 'Par. Lost,' b. vii. 509. ix. 538.

And Spenser's Belphœbe :—

> Her ivory forehead, full of bounty brave,
> Like a broad table did itself dispread:
> All good and honour might therein be read,
> And there their dwelling was.

DUNSTER.

[53] Ver. 220.

> *For beauty stands*
> *In the admiration only of weak minds*
> *Led captive.*

Among Milton's early Latin Elegies, we find one, the seventh, of the amatory kind: but when he published his Latin poems, eighteen years afterwards, he thought it necessary to add to it ten lines, apologising for the puerile weakness, or rather vacancy, of his mind, that could admit such an impression.—DUNSTER.

[54] Ver. 222.

> *Cease to admire, and all her plumes*
> *Fall flat, and shrink into a trivial toy,*
> *At every sudden slighting quite abash'd.*

This is a very beautiful and apposite allusion to the

peacock; speaking of which bird, Pliny notices the circumstance of its spreading its tail under a sense of admiration:—"Gemmantes laudatus expandit colores, adverso maxime sole, quia sic fulgentius radiant." Nat. Hist. l. x. c. 20. Tasso compares Armida, in all the pride and vanity of her beauty and ornaments, to a peacock with its tail spread, c. xvi. st. 24. But Milton had here in his mind Ovid, 'De Arte Am.' i. 627.

> Laudatas ostentat avis Junonia pennas;
> Si tacitus spectes, illa recondit opes. DUNSTER.

[55] Ver. 235. *He ceased.* Our Lord (ver. 110.) is, in a brief but appropriate description, again presented to us in the wilderness. The poet, in the mean time, makes Satan return to his infernal council, to report the bad success of his first attempt, and to demand their counsel and assistance in an enterprise of so much difficulty. This he does in a brief and energetic speech. Hence arises a debate; or at least a proposition on the part of Belial, and a rejection of it by Satan, of which I cannot sufficiently express my admiration. The language of Belial is exquisitely descriptive of the power of beauty; without a single word introduced, or even a thought conveyed, that is unbecoming its place in this divine poem. Satan's reply is eminently fine: his imputing to Belial, as the most dissolute of the fallen angels, the amours attributed by the poets and mythologists to the heathen gods; while it is replete with classic beauty, furnishes an excellent moral to those extravagant fictions; and his description of the little effect which the most powerful enticements can produce on the resolute mind of the virtuous, while it is heightened with many beautiful turns of language; is, in its general tenor, of the most superior and dignified kind. Indeed, all this part of his speech (from ver. 191. to ver. 225.) seems to breathe such a sincere and deep sense of the charms of real goodness, that we almost forget who is the speaker:

at least, we readily subscribe to what he had said of himself in the first book :—

> I have not lost
> To love, at least contemplate and admire,
> What I see excellent in good, or fair,
> Or virtuous.

After such sentiments so expressed, it might have been thought difficult for the poet to return to his subject, by making the arch-fiend resume his attempts against the Divine Person, the commanding majesty of whose invincible virtue he had just been describing with such seemingly heart-felt admiration. This is managed with much address, by Satan's proposing to adopt such modes of temptation as are apt to prevail most, where the propensities are virtuous, and where the disposition is amiable and generous: and, by the immediate return of the tempter and his associates to the wilderness, the poem advances towards the heighth of its argument.—DUNSTER.

[56] Ver. 236. *To him takes a chosen band*
Of spirits, likest to himself in guile.

"Then goeth he and taketh with himself seven other spirits more wicked than himself," Matt. xii. 45.—DUNSTER.

[57] Ver. 244. *Now hungering first.* There seems, I think, to be a little inaccuracy in this place. It is plain, by the Scripture account, that our Saviour hungered before the devil first tempted him by proposing to him his making stones into bread, and Milton's own account in the first book is consistent with this: is there not therefore a seeming impropriety in saying that he "now first hungered;" especially, considering the time that must have necessarily elapsed during Satan's convening and consulting with his companions?—THYER.

Milton comprises the principal action of the poem in

four successive days. This is the second day, in which no positive temptation occurs; for Satan had left Jesus (as was said, ver. 116. of this book) "vacant," i. e. unassailed, that day. Previous to the tempter's appearing at all, it is said (b. i. 303.) that our blessed Lord had "passed full forty days" in the wilderness. All that is here meant is that he was not hungry till the forty days were ended; and accordingly our Saviour himself presently says that, during the time, he

> human food
> Nor tasted, nor had appetite.

As to the time necessary for convening the infernal council, there is the space of twenty-four hours taken for the devil to go up to "the region of mid air," where his council was sitting, and where we are told he went "with speed;" (ver. 117 of this book) and for him to debate the matter with his council, and return "with his chosen band of spirits:" for it was the commencement of night, when he left our Saviour at the end of the first book; and it is now "the hour of night," (ver. 260) when he is returned. But it must also be considered that spiritual beings are not supposed to require, for their actions, the time necessary to human ones; otherwise we might proceed to calculate the time requisite for the descent of Michael, or Raphael, to Paradise, and criticise the 'Paradise Lost' accordingly. But Raphael, in the eighth book of that poem, says to Adam, inquiring concerning celestial motions;—

> The swiftness of those circles attribute,
> Though numberless, to his Omnipotence,
> That to corporeal substances could add
> Speed almost spiritual: me thou think'st not slow,
> Who since the morning hour set out from heaven
> Where God resides, and ere mid-day arrived
> In Eden; distance inexpressible
> By numbers that have name.

We are also expressly told by St. Luke, when the devil

took our Lord up into a high mountain, that "he showed unto him all the kingdoms of the world in a moment of time," Luke iv. 5.—DUNSTER.

[58] Ver. 259. *Me hungering more to do my Father's will.* In allusion to our Saviour's words, John iv. 34:—"My meat is to do the will of him that sent me, and to finish his work."—NEWTON.

But with reference also to, "Blessed are they which do hunger and thirst after righteousness," Matt. v. 6.—DUNSTER.

[59] Ver. 261. *Communed in silent walk, then laid him down.* Agreeable to what we find in the Psalms, iv. 4:—"Commune with your own heart upon your bed, and be still."—NEWTON.

[60] Ver. 262. *The hospitable covert nigh*
Of trees thick interwoven.
Thus Horace, Od. II. iii. 9:—

Qua pinus ingens albaque populus
Umbram hospitalem consociare amant
Ramis.

And Virgil, 'Georg.' iv. 24:—

Obviaque hospitiis teneat frondentibus arbos.

Milton also, in 'Comus,' ver. 186:—

Such cooling fruit
As the kind hospitable woods provide.

DUNSTER.

[61] Ver. 266. *He by the brook of Cherith stood,* &c. Alluding to the account of Elijah, 1 Kings xvii. 5, 6; and xix. 4. And Daniel's living upon pulse and water, rather than the portion of the king's meat and drink, is celebrated, Dan. i. So that, as our dreams are often composed of the

matter of our waking thoughts, our Saviour is with great propriety supposed to dream of sacred persons and subjects. Lucretius, iv. 960:—

> Et quoi quisque fere studio devinctus adhæret,
> Aut quibus in rebus multum sumus ante morati,
> Atque in qua ratione fuit contenta magis mens,
> In somnis eadem plerumque videmur obire.
>
> NEWTON.

[62] Ver. 280. *To descry*
The morn's approach, and greet her with his song.

This is a beautiful thought, which modern wit hath added to the stock of antiquity. We may see it rising, though out of a low hint of Theocritus, like the bird from his "thatch'd pallat," Idyll. x. 50.

Chaucer leads the way to the English poets, in four of the finest lines in all his works, 'Knight's Tale,' 1493:—

> The merry lark, messengere of the day,
> Salewith in her song the morrow gray;
> And firy Phebus risith up so bright,
> That all the Orient laugheth at the sight.

In the same manner, Spenser, 'Faery Queen,' i. xi. 51:—

> When Una did her mark
> Climb to her charet all with flowers spread,
> From heaven high to chase the cheerless dark;
> With merry notes her loud salutes the mounting lark.
>
> CALTON.

Thus, in 'Comus,' the early hour of morning is marked by the lark's rousing from his thatch'd pallat, ver. 315. and the lark, high-towering and greeting the morn with her song, is thus beautifully described in P. Fletcher's 'Purple Island,' c. ix. st. 2:—

> The cheerful lark, mounting from early bed,
> With sweet salutes awakes the drowsy light:
> The earth she left, and up to heaven is fled:
> There chants her Muker's praises out of sight.

See also Spenser's Astrophel, st. vi. :—

As summers lark, that with her song doth greete
The dawning day, &c.

DUNSTER.

[63] Ver. 282. *From his grassy couch.* So in 'Paradise Lost,' b. iv. 600 :—

For beast and bird,
They to their grassy couch, these to their nests,
Were slunk.

THYER.

[64] Ver. 283. *And found all was but a dream.* 'Paradise Lost,' b. v. 92 :—

But, O! how glad I waked,
To find this but a dream!

DUNSTER.

[65] Ver. 287.

If cottage were in view, sheep-cote, or herd;
But cottage, herd, or sheep-cote, none he saw.

This mode of repetition our poet is fond of, and has frequently used with singular effect. See 'Comus,' v. 221, &c. Thus also, in 'Paradise Lost,' b. iv. 640, a delightful description of morning, evening, and night is beautifully recapitulated.—DUNSTER.

[66] Ver. 289. *Only in a bottom saw a pleasant grove,* &c. The tempter here is the magician of the Italian poets. This "pleasant grove" is a magical creation in the desert, designed as a scene suited for the ensuing temptation of the banquet. Thus Tasso lays the scene of the sumptuous banquet, which Armida provides for her lovers, amidst

High trees, sweet meadows, waters pure and good,
Under the curtain of the greenwood shade,
Beside the brook, upon the velvet grass.

Fairfax's 'Tasso,' c. x. 63, 64.

The whole of Milton's description here is very beautiful; and I rather wonder that the noble author of the 'Anecdotes of Painting' did not subjoin it to his citations from the 'Paradise Lost,' in the 'Observations on modern Gardening.' He there ascribes to our author the having foreseen, "with the prophetic eye of taste," our modern style of gardening. It may however be questioned, whether his idea of a garden was much, if at all, elevated above that of his contemporaries. In the 'Comus,' speaking of the gardens of the Hesperides, he describes "cedarn alleys," and "crisped shades and bowers;" and in his 'Penseroso,' "retired leisure" is made to please itself in "trim gardens." Mr. Warton, in a note on the latter passage, observes that Milton had changed his ideas of a garden when he wrote his 'Paradise Lost:' but the Paradise which he there describes is not a garden, either ancient or modern: it is in fact a country in its natural, unornamented state; only rendered beautiful, and, (which is more essential to happiness in a hot climate) at all times perfectly habitable, from its abundance of pleasingly-disposed shade and water, and its consequent verdure and fertility. From all such poetical delineations, as from Nature herself, the landscape gardener may certainly enrich his fancy, and cultivate his taste. The poet in the mean time contributes to the perfection of art, not by laying down rules for it, but by his exquisite descriptions of the more beautiful scenes of nature, which it is the office of art to imitate and to represent. One merit of our modern art of laying out ground, independent of the beauty of its scenery, is its being peculiarly adapted to the circumstances of our climate. A modern English pleasure-ground would not be considered as a Paradise on the sultry plains of Assyria, if it could be formed, or exist there: accordingly, another mode of gardening has always prevailed in hot countries, which, though it would be the height of absurdity to adopt in our own island, may be well defended in its proper place by the best of all pleas, necessity. The reader may see this

question fully discussed with great taste and judgment, by my learned friend, Dr. Falconer, in his 'Historical View of the Taste for Gardening and laying out Grounds, among the Nations of Antiquity.'—DUNSTER.

[67] Ver. 291. *Determined there*
To rest at noon.

The custom of retiring to the shade and reposing, in hot countries, during the extreme heat of the day, is frequently alluded to by Milton, in his 'Paradise Lost.' See b. iv. 627. b. v. 230, and 300. and b. ix. 401.—DUNSTER.

[68] Ver. 293. *High roof'd, and walks beneath, and alleys brown.* Such are also the arched over-shading groves of Spenser, with their walks, alleys, and arbours, 'Faer. Q.' i. i. 7.

A shady grove not far away they spied, &c.
And all within were paths and alleys wide.

See also 'Faer. Qu.' iv. x. 25. "High-roof'd" reminds us of some of Milton's descriptions in the 'Paradise Lost,' as in b. ix. 1037.

A shady bank
Thick overhead with verdant roof imbower'd.

See also b. iv. 692. 772. b. v. 137. The deep shade produced by great masses of wood, is a favourite object of our poet's description. The epithet "brown" that he applies to it, (as here "alleys brown") he borrowed from the Italian poets; as has been justly observed by Mr. Thyer. See his notes on 'Paradise Lost,' b. iv. 246. and b. ix. 1086.—DUNSTER.

[69] Ver. 294. *That open'd in the midst a woody scene.* Here is some resemblance of Homer's description of the bower of Calypso, 'Odyss.' v. 63. 73.

It may be observed, that "a various sylvan scene" was

possibly suggested by Milton's "happy rural seat of various view," Par. Lost, b. iv. 246.—DUNSTER.

[70] Ver. 295. *Nature's own work it seem'd,* (*Nature taught Art*) Thus Spenser, in his description of the garden of Acrasia, 'Faer. Qu.' ii. xii. 58.

> And, that which all fair workes doth most aggrace,
> The art, which all that wrought, appeared in no place.
>
> One would have thought, (so cunningly the rude
> And scorned parts were mingled with the fine)
> That Nature had for wantonness ensude
> Art, and that Art at Nature did repine;
> So striving each the other to undermine,
> Each did the other's work more beautify, &c.

But here he is not a little indebted to his predecessor Tasso, in his description of the garden of Armida, 'Gier. Lib.' c. xvi. st. 9, 10. See also 'Faer. Qu.' ii. v. 29.—DUNSTER.

[71] Ver. 296. *The haunt*
Of wood-gods and wood-nymphs.

They who think that all poetry ought to consist of picturesque imagery and material descriptions, cannot refuse their admiration to the exquisite scenery here exhibited, to which nothing in Spenser, Thomson, or Cowper, can be compared.

[72] Ver. 299. *Not rustick as before, but seemlier clad.* The tempter is very properly made to change his appearance and habit with the temptation. In the former book, when he came to tempt our Saviour to turn the stones into bread to satisfy their hunger, he appeared as a poor old man in "rural weeds;" but now, when he comes to offer a magnificent entertainment, he is "seemlier clad," and appears as a wealthy citizen or a courtier: and here "with fair speech" he addresses his words; there, it was only "with words thus utter'd spake." These lesser particulars have a pro-

priety in them, which is well worthy of the reader's observation.—NEWTON.

[73] Ver. 302. *With granted leave.* It is true that Satan at parting, in the conclusion of the former book, had asked leave to come again; but all the answer that our Saviour returned was

> Thy coming hither, though I know thy scope,
> I bid not or forbid; do as thou find'st
> Permission from above.

But as the tempter must needs have been a most impudent being, it was perfectly in character to represent him as taking "permission" for "granted leave."—NEWTON.

The "granted leave" here is "permission from above." In answer to Satan's request, (b. i. 492.)

> Disdain not such access to me,

our Saviour had said,

> Do as thou find'st
> Permission from above.

Satan therefore here introduces himself with a boast of "that permission from him," who had before given up Job to be tempted by him, b. i. 368. Indeed our author makes the Deity, in his speech to Gabriel, say, speaking of our blessed Lord, b. i. 140.

> This man, born and now upgrown,
> To show him worthy of his birth divine
> And high prediction, henceforth I expose
> To Satan; let him tempt and now assay
> His utmost subtlety.
>
> DUNSTER.

[74] Ver. 308. *The fugitive bond-woman, with her son,* &c. Hagar, who fled from the face of her mistress, Gen. xvi. 6, is therefore called a "fugitive:" her son was not a fugitive,

but an "outcast;" so exact was our author in the use of his epithets. But then what shall we say to the words "Outcast Nebaioth?" For Nebaioth was the eldest son of Ishmael, (Gen. xxv. 13.) and grandson of Abraham and Hagar. He seems here to be put by mistake for Ishmael; at least, it is not usual to call the father by the name of the son.—NEWTON.

There is no immediate instance of a grandson being substituted for a son in Scripture: and yet the curse is addressed to Canaan, (Gen. ix. 25.) though it was Ham, his father, who had offended Noah: but Nebaioth and Canaan both gave names to a people descended from them, viz. the Canaanites and Nabathæans; and therefore each of their names might attach to their fathers as the first stock of their respective nations. Ishmael was not born when Hagar fled from her mistress's face, Gen. xvi. 6. But the term "fugitive" here refers to what is said of her, Gen. xxi. when she and her son were both cast out at the instigation of Sarah, and with the approbation of God; when also, in her distress in the wilderness, "she cast the child from her to die." This moment of distress is the exact moment of Milton's description.—DUNSTER.

[75] Ver. 312. *And that prophet bold.* In the character of Elijah, as it stands portrayed in Scripture, we trace a spirit and resolution of the most dignified kind. Hence it is said, 1 Maccab. ii. 58, that "he was taken up into heaven for being fervent and zealous for the law." The first twelve verses of the 48th chapter of Ecclesiasticus are entirely occupied with a panegyric upon him; in which it is said, that "he stood up like fire," and that "his words burned like a lamp:" which expressions must be understood to imply a peculiar fervour of zeal and spirit. Milton seems to have been much struck with the character of this "prophet bold," as he here terms him. He had before, ver. 16 of this book, called him the "great Thisbite," and has men-

tioned him no less than four times in this poem, and three times in his juvenile Latin poems. El. iv. 'In Prodit. Bombard.' and 'In Obit. Præsul. Eliens.' But it may be observed, (and I hope without impropriety) that possibly he had a political predilection for this eminent prophet, to whose lot it fell to resist the tyranny of wicked kings, and to denounce the judgments of God against them. In this part of his office he particularly manifested his undaunted spirit; on which account he might be a favourite scripture-character with our author. Compare Sylvester's 'Du Bartas,' ed. 1621. p. 480.

Thesbite Elijah—
Who, burning bold in spirit and speech, cries out
In Ahab's ear, and all his court about,
'O impious Ahab!'

DUNSTER.

[76] Ver. 313. *Wandering here was fed.* It appears that Milton conceived the wilderness, where Hagar wandered with her son, and where the Israelites were fed with manna, and where Elijah retreated from the rage of Jezebel, to be the same with the wilderness where our Saviour was tempted: and yet it is certain, that they were very different places; for the wilderness, where Hagar wandered, was "the wilderness of Beersheba," Gen. xxi. 14; and where the Israelites were fed with manna, was "the wilderness of Sin," Exod. xvi. 1; and where Elijah retreated, was "in the wilderness, a day's journey from Beersheba," 1 Kings, xix. 4; and where our Saviour was tempted, was "the wilderness near Jordan." But our author considers all that tract of country as one and the same wilderness, though distinguished by different names from the different places adjoining.—NEWTON.

[77] Ver. 321.

Wouldst thou not eat?—Thereafter as I like
The giver, answer'd Jesus.

Thus in 'Comus,' when the enchanter offers the cup to the Lady, and presses her to drink of it, she tells him,

Were it a draught for Juno when she banquets,
I would not taste thy treasonous offer; none
But such as are good men can give good things, &c.

DUNSTER.

[78] Ver. 324.

Hast thou not right to all created things?
Owe not all creatures by just right to thee
Duty and service, &c. &c.

This part of the tempter's speech alludes to the heavenly declaration which he had heard at Jordan, "This is my beloved Son," &c. One may observe too, that it is much the same sort of flattering address with that which he had before made use of to seduce Eve, 'Paradise Lost,' b. ix. 539:—

Thee all things living gaze on, all things thine,
By gift, &c.

THYER.

[79] Ver. 333. *Hath purvey'd*
From all the elements her choicest store.

The Latin poets have similar passages, descriptive of that unbounded luxury, which ransacked all the elements to furnish out the requisite delicacies of their banquets. Thus Juv. Sat. xi. 14.

Interea gustus elementa per omnia quærunt.

DUNSTER.

[80] Ver. 337. *He spake no dream.* This was no dream, as before, ver. 264, but a reality.—NEWTON.

[81] Ver. 340. *A table richly spread*, &c. This temptation is not recorded in Scripture, but is however invented with great consistency, and very aptly fitted to the present condition of our Saviour. This way of embellishing his sub-

ject is a privilege which every poet has a just right to, provided he observes harmony and decorum in his hero's character; and one may farther add, that Milton had in this particular place a still stronger claim to an indulgence of this kind; since it was a pretty general opinion among the fathers, that our Saviour underwent many more temptations than those which are mentioned by the evangelists; nay, Origen goes so far as to say, that he was every day, whilst he continued in the wilderness, attacked by a fresh one. The beauties of this description are too obvious to escape any reader of taste. It is copious, and yet expressed with a very elegant conciseness: every proper circumstance is mentioned; and yet it is not at all clogged or encumbered, as is often the case, with too tedious a detail of particulars. It was a scene entirely fresh to our author's imagination, and nothing like it had before occurred in his 'Paradise Lost;' for which reason he has been the more diffuse, and laboured it with greater care, with the same good judgment that makes him in other places avoid expatiating on scenes which he had before described. In a word, it is in my opinion worked up with great art and beauty, and plainly shows the crudity of that notion which so much prevails among superficial readers, that Milton's genius was upon the decay when he wrote his 'Paradise Regained.'—THYER.

[82] Ibid. *In regal mode.* "Regal mode" was probably intended to glance at the luxury and expense of the court at that time: it is however well covered by classical authority. Thus Sil. Ital. xi. 272:—

> Instituunt de more epulas, festamque per urbem
> Regifice extructis celebrant convivia mensis.

And Virgil, 'Æn.' vi. 604:—

> epulæque ante ora paratæ
> Regifico luxu.

DUNSTER.

[83] Ver. 343. *In pastry built.* The pastry, in the beginning of the last century, was frequently of considerable magnitude and solidity: of such kind must have been the pie, in which Geoffrey Hudson, afterwards king James's dwarf, when eight years old, was served up to table at an entertainment given by the duke of Buckingham. We may suppose this pie was not considerably larger than was usual on such occasions; otherwise the joke would have lost much of its effect from something extraordinary being expected. A species of mural pastry seems to have prevailed in some of the preceding centuries, when artificial representations of castles, towers, &c. were very common at all great feasts, and called "suttleties," "subtilties," or "sotilties." Leland, in his account of the entertainment at the inthronization of archbishop Warham in 1504, ('Collectanea,' vol. 6.) mentions "a suttlety of three stages, with vanes and towres embattled," and "a warner with eight towres embattled, and made with flowres;" which possibly meant made in pastry. In the catalogue of the expenses at this feast, there is a charge for wax and sugar, *in operatione de le sotilties.* Probably the wax and sugar were employed to render the paste of flour more adhesive and tenacious, the better to support itself when moulded into such a variety of forms.—DUNSTER.

[84] Ver. 345. *Freshet.* "Freshet," a stream of fresh water. So Browne, in his 'Brit. Pastorals,' 1613, b. ii. s. iii. of fish, who

> Now love the freshet, and then love the sea.
>
> TODD.

[85] Ver. 346. *And exquisitest name.* This alludes to that species of Roman luxury, which gave exquisite names to fish of exquisite taste, such as that they called *cerebrum Jovis*: they extended this even to a very capacious dish,

as that they called *clypeum Minervæ*. The modern Italians fall into the same wantonness of luxurious impiety; as when they call their exquisite wines by the names of *lacrymæ Christi* and *lac Virginis*.—WARBURTON.

[68] Ibid. *For which was drain'd*
Pontus, and Lucrine bay, and Africk coast.

The fish are brought to furnish this banquet from all the different parts of the world then known; from Pontus, or the Euxine sea, in Asia; from the Lucrine bay, in Italy; and from the coast of Africa: all which places are celebrated for different kinds of fish by the authors of antiquity. —NEWTON.

Milton had here in his mind the excessive luxury of the Romans in the article of fish; in regard to which it is said by Juvenal, that, having exhausted their own seas, they were obliged to be supplied from their distant provinces.—DUNSTER.

Pliny observes how quickly all sorts of fish came to perfection in the Pontus Euxinus:—"Piscium genus omne præcipua celeritate adolescit, maxime in Ponto. Causa, multitudo amnium dulces inferentium aquas," l. ix. 15. Horace notices the shell-fish of the Lucrine lake, Epod. ii. 49:—"Non me Lucrina juverint conchylia;" and particularly commends its muscles, Sat. II. iv. 32. Martial records the excellence of the Lucrine oysters, lib. iii. Ep. ix. 3. These were so much in request, that *Lucrina* alone is used by the last-mentioned poet to signify oysters, l. vi. Ep. xi. 5. and l. xii. Ep. xlviii. 4. Aulus Gellius, in his chapter on Roman luxury, notices the lamprey from the Straits of Gibraltar, *Muræna Tartessia*, l. vii. 16. It is related by Athenæus, (b. i. p. 7.) that the celebrated Roman glutton Apicius, having been used to eat at Minturnæ a sort of cray-fish, which exceeded the lobsters of Alexandria in bigness; when he was told there were some of these fish still larger to be found on the coast of Africa, sailed

thither immediately, in spite of a great many inconveniences. The fishermen, who were apprised of the object of his voyage, met him with the largest they had taken; but as soon as he found they had none which exceeded those he had been used to eat at Minturnæ, he sailed back instantly, without going on shore.—DUNSTER.

[87] Ver. 349. *That diverted Eve!* *Diverted* is here used in the Latin signification of *diverto*, "to turn aside."—NEWTON.

[88] Ver. 350. *And at a stately sideboard*, &c. As the scene of this entertainment lay in the East, Milton has with great judgment thrown in this and the following particulars to give it an air of Eastern grandeur; as in that part of the world, it is well known, a great part of the pomp and splendour of their feasts consists in their having a great number of beautiful slaves of both sexes, to attend and divert the guests with music and singing.—THYER.

[89] Ibid. *Wine*
That fragrant smell diffused.

The ancients prized their wines according to their fragrance. Οἶνος ἀνθοσμίας was the term of supreme commendation among the Greeks.—DUNSTER.

[90] Ver. 353. *Than Ganymed or Hylas.* These were two most beautiful youths; the one beloved by Jupiter, to whom he was cup-bearer; the other by Hercules, for whom he drew water: they are therefore both properly mentioned upon this occasion.—NEWTON.

Milton had mentioned these two boys in his seventh Elegy, where he compares the God of Love to them. In which he had most probably an eye to Spenser's description of Fancy in his Mask of Cupid, 'Faer. Qu.' III. xii. 7.

The first was Fancy, like a lovely boy, &c.

DUNSTER.

Milton here alludes to the description of the costly tables of the Romans, their waiters, &c. given by an author, to whose opinions he was certainly partial: "Seneca describes the order and number of their waiters more particularly: they had waiting on them, saith he, *puerorum infelicium greges*, whole troopes of vnfortunate Ganymedes," &c. Hakewill's 'Apol. of the Power and Providence of God,' fol. ed. 1630, p. 376.—TODD.

[91] Ver. 354. *Now solemn stood.* The same idea of graceful attitude is given in a line of 'Comus,' where the enchanter, speaking to the Lady of her brothers, whom he professes to have seen, says,

Their port was more than human as they stood.

Hamlet likewise, in the scene with his mother, thus exemplifies the gracefulness of his father's person:—

A station like the herald Mercury
New-lighted on a heaven-kissing hill;

where "station" is attitude, or the act of standing.—DUNSTER.

[92] Ver. 355.

Nymphs of Diana's train, and Naiades
With fruits and flowers from Amalthea's horn,
And ladies of the Hesperides.

The poet perhaps specifies these beautiful attendants, as more eminently possessing the power of beguiling the heart: the "nymphs of Diana's train," on account of their remarkable beauty; see 'Odyss.' vi. 110: the "Naiades," as having been companions of the enchantress Circe; see 'Comus,' ver. 254: and the "ladies of the Hesperides," by their skill in singing. See notes on 'Comus,' v. 981. Compare also P. Fletcher's 'Purp. Isl.' 1613. c. x. st. 30:—

Choice nymph, the crown of chaste Diana's train,
Thou beautie's lilie, &c.

TODD.

The story of Amalthea's horn, strictly so called, is given by Ovid, 'Fast.' v. 115, &c. but in the beginning of the ninth book of the 'Metamorphoses,' a different history of a cornucopia is given, which seems to be more immediately referred to in this passage of the 'Paradise Regained:'—

> Nec satis id fuerat; rigidum fera dextera cornu
> Dum tenet, infregit, truncaque a fronte revellit.
> Naiades hoc, pomis et odoro flore repletum,
> Sacrarunt; divesque meo bona Copia cornu est.
>
> DUNSTER.

[93] Ver. 358. *Fairer than feign'd of old, or fabled since.* Some readers may perhaps, in this passage, think our author a little too fond of showing his great reading; a fault, of which he is indeed sometimes guilty: but those who are conversant in romance-writers, and know how lavish they are in the praises of their beauties, will, I doubt not, discover great propriety in this allusion.—THYER.

Whenever Milton takes any images from his favourite romances, he immediately rises, as here, into the most exquisite poetry; and seems to finish his lines with peculiar pleasure and art.—JOS. WARTON.

The reason of this seems to be, that here was more play for his imagination. The classical learning was not so imaginative as the gothic and romantic.

[94] Ver. 359. *Fuery damsels, met in forest wide*
By knights of Logres, or of Lyones,
Lancelot, or Pelleas, or Pellenore.

Sir Lancelot, Pelleas, and Pellenore, (the latter by the title of king Pellenore) are persons in the old romance of 'Morte d'Arthur, or The Lyf of King Arthur, of his noble knyghtes of the round table, and in thende the dolorus deth of them all; written originally in French, and translated into English by Sir Thomas Malleory, Knt. printed by William Caxton, 1484.'—From this old romance, Mr.

Warton (' Observations on Spenser,' sect. 2.) shows that Spenser borrowed much. Sir Lancelot is there called of "Logris;" and Sir Tristram is named of "Lyones," under which title he appears also in the ' Faery Queen.' "Logris" is the same with *Loegria*, (according to the more fabulous historians, and amongst them Milton) an old name for England. Hollinshed calls it both *Loegria* and *Logiers*. See his ' History of England,' b. ii. 4, 5. The same author, in his ' Description of Britain,' instead of *Loegria*, or *Logiers*, writes it *Lhoegres*. The title of his 22nd chapter is, "after what manner the sovereigntie of this isle doth remaine to the princes of Lhoegres or kings of England." Spenser, in his ' Faery Queen,' where he gives the "Chronicle of the early Briton Kings from Brute to Uther's reign," calls it *Logris*, ii. x. 14:—

> And Camber did possess the western quart,
> Which Severn now from Logris doth depart.

Lyones was an old name for Cornwall, or at least for a part of that county. Camden, in his ' Britannia,' speaking of the Land's End, says, "the inhabitants are of opinion that this promontory did once reach farther to the west, which the seamen positively conclude from the rubbish they draw up. The neighbours will tell you too, from a certain old tradition, that the land there drowned by the incursions of the sea was called *Lionesse*." Sir Tristram of Lyones, or Lionesse, is well known to the readers of the old romances. In the French translation of the ' Orlando Inamorato' of Boiardo, he is termed Tristran de Leonnois, although in the original he is only mentioned by the single name of Tristran. In the ' Orlando Inamorato' also, among the knights, who defend Angelica in the fortress of Albracca against Agrican, is Sir Hubert of Lyones, Uberto dal Lione. Tristram, in his account of himself in the ' Faery Queen,' VI. ii. 28, says,

> And Tristram is my name, the only heire
> Of good king Meliogras, which did rayne
> In Cornewale, till that he through lives despeire
> Untimely dyde.

He then relates how his uncle seized upon the crown; whereupon his mother, conceiving great fears for her son's personal safety, determined to send him into "some foreign land,"

> Out of the countrie wherein I was bred,
> The which the fertile Lionesse is hight,
> Into the land of Faerie.

These particulars, Mr. Warton shows, are drawn from the 'Morte d'Arthur,' where it is said "there was a knight Meliodas, and he was lord and king of the county of Lyones, and he wedded king Marke's sister of Cornewale." The issue of this marriage was Sir Tristram. These knights, he also observes, are there often represented as meeting beautiful damsels in desolate forests. Sir Pelleas, "a very valorous knight of Arthur's round table," is one of those who pursue the blatant beast, when, after having been conquered and chained up by Sir Calidore, it "broke its iron chain" and again "ranged through the world,"—Faery Queen, VI. xii. 39.

Milton's later thoughts could not, we find, but rove at times, where, as he himself told us, "his younger feet wandered," when he "betook him among those lofty fables and romances, which recount in solemn cantos the deeds of knighthood founded by our victorious kings, and from hence had in renowne over all Christendome." 'Apol. for Smectym.' p. 177. 'Prose Works,' ed. Amst. 1698.—DUNSTER.

[95] Ver. 362.

> *And all the while harmonious airs were heard*
> *Of chiming strings, or charming pipes.*

Thus in 'Paradise Lost,' b. xi. 558:—

> the sound
> Of instruments that made melodious chime.

And again, ver. 594, "charming symphonies." Spenser,

as Mr. Calton observes, thus likewise uses the verb *to charm*, 'Faery Queen,' v. ix. 13:—

> Like as the fouler, on his guileful pype,
> Charmes to the birds full many a pleasant lay.

But Spenser has *to charm* frequently in this sense. Thus, in his 'Colin Clout's come home again,' of his shepherd's boy,

> Charming his oaten pipe unto his peers:

And again, in the conclusion of his 'October:'—

> Here we our slender pipes may safely charme.

DUNSTER.

[96] Ver. 363. *And winds*
Of gentlest gale Arabian odours fann'd
From their soft wings.

Mr. Thyer, who supposes this circumstance introduced in compliance with the Eastern custom of using perfumes at their entertainments, has noticed the similarity of the following lines, 'Paradise Lost,' b. iv. 156:—

> Now gentle gales,
> Fanning their odoriferous wings, dispense
> Native perfumes, and whisper whence they stole
> Those balmy spoils.

He might also have cited a beautiful line from our author's early Elegy, 'In Adventum Veris;'

> Cinnamea Zephyrus leve plaudit odorifer ala.

Milton, in the same Elegy, refers to the "Arabian odours;" and in the continuation of the passage from the 'Paradise Lost,' exhibited by Mr. Thyer, he speaks of the winds blowing

> Sabæan odours from the spicy shore
> Of Araby the blest.

DUNSTER.

See likewise 'Paradise Lost,' b. viii. 515, &c. And compare Apoll. Rhod. 'Argon.' i. 1142; and particularly the following passage from Drayton, 'Muses Eliz.' 1630, p. 138:—

> Where the soft windes did mutually embrace,
> In the cool arbours Nature there had made;
> Fanning their sweet breath gently in his face,
> Through the calm cincture of his amorous shade.
>
> TODD.

[97] Ver. 366. *Such was the splendour.* Virgil, describing the magnificent entertainment prepared by Dido for Æneas, ('Æn.' i. 637.) says,—

> At domus interior regali splendida luxu
> Instruitur;

on which La Cerda observes:—"Apte et signate splendida; nam splendor de conviviis sæpe;" and he cites from Athenæus, b. iii. Λαμπροτάτην δεῖπνου παρασκευήν.—DUNSTER.

[98] Ver. 369.

> *These are not fruits forbidden; no interdict*
> *Defends the touching of these viands pure:*
> *Their taste no knowledge works, at least of evil.*

This sarcastical allusion to the Fall of Man, and to that particular command, by the transgression of which, being seduced by Satan, he fell, is finely in character of the speaker. Milton, in his 'Paradise Lost,' terms the forbidden fruit "the tree of interdicted knowledge:" and, in the eighth book, where Adam, relating to the angel what he remembered since his own creation, particularly recites the "rigid interdiction," ver. 323—335.—DUNSTER.

[99] Ver. 374.

> *All these are spirits of air, and woods, and springs.*

These "spirits of air, and woods, and springs," remind us

of Shakspeare's "elves of hills, brooks, standing lakes, and groves," in the 'Tempest.'—DUNSTER.

The whole of this passage is extraordinarily and exquisitely beautiful; the turn of the expression is in the highest degree persuasive and happy.

[100] Ver. 384. *Command a table in this wilderness.* From Psalm lxxviii. 19:—"They said, Can God furnish a table in the wilderness?"—RICHARDSON.

[101] Ver. 385. *Flights of angels.* An expression likewise in Shakspeare, 'Hamlet,' a. v. s. 6:—"And flights of angels sing thee to thy rest."—NEWTON.

Compare St. Matthew, xxvi. 53.—DUNSTER.

[102] Ver. 391.

And count thy specious gifts no gifts, but guiles.

Not without a resemblance to Virgil, 'Æn.' ii. 49:—

Timeo Danaos et dona ferentes;

and to a preceding part of the same speech of Laocoon:—

O miseri, quæ tanta insania, cives?
Creditis avectos hostes, aut ulla putatis
Dona carere dolis Danaum?

Dr. Newton observes, that "thy gifts no gifts" is from Sophocles, 'Ajax,' v. 675.—DUNSTER.

Compare our author, in his 'Apology for Smectymnuus,' sect. xi.:—"Shall we receive our prayers at the bounty of our more wicked enemies, whose gifts are no gifts, but the instruments of our bane?"—TODD.

[103] Ver. 401. *With that,* &c. See the notes on 'Comus,' ver. 659.—TODD.

[104] Ver. 403. *With sound,* &c. The sound of the wings and talons is much finer than if the harpies had been seen;

because the imagination is left at work, and the surprise is greater than if they had been mentioned before.—T. WARTON.

As this infernally magical banquet vanishes, the attendant spirits (see before, ver. 236.) who had appeared in the scene as "tall stripling youths, nymphs of Diana's train, or ladies of the Hesperides," resume their proper infernal shapes. Milton, we may observe, characterises the furies as *harpy-footed*, 'Paradise Lost,' b. ii. 596.—DUNSTER.

The powerful brevity of this termination of the splendid array is very striking.

[105] Ver. 404. *Importune.* Spenser and our old poets write *impórtune*, thus accented; 'Faer. Qu.' i. xii. 16:—

> An often blame the too impórtune fate.
>
> NEWTON.

[106] Ver. 420.

> *Or at thy heels the dizzy multitude,*
> *Longer than thou canst feed them on thy cost?*

The "dizzy multitude" is the *ventosa plebs* of the Roman poet, who speaks of them, as to be gained in the same manner. Hor. 'Epist.' i. xix. 37:—

> Non ego ventosæ plebis suffragia venor
> Impensis cœnarum.

See also Shakspeare, 'Henry V.' a. iv. s. 3:—

> Nor care I who doth feed upon my cost.
>
> DUNSTER.

[107] Ver. 422.

Money brings honour, friends, conquest, and realms. Mammon, in the 'Faery Queen,' attempts the virtue of Sir Guyon with the same pretences, ii. vii. 11:—

> Vain-glorious elf, said he, dost thou not weet,
> That money can thy wants at will supply?

Shields, steeds, and arms, and all things for thee meet,
It can purvey in twinkling of an eye:
And crowns and kingdoms to thee multiply.
Do I not kings create, and throw the crown
Sometimes to him that low in dust doth lie?
And him that reign'd into his room thrust down;
And whom I lust, do heap with glory and renown?

CALTON.

[108] Ver. 423.

What raised Antipater the Edomite,
And his son Herod placed on Judah's throne.

This appears to be the fact from history. When Josephus introduces Antipater upon the stage, he speaks of him as abounding with great riches, 'Antiq.' lib. xiv. cap. 2. And his son Herod was declared king of Judea by the favour of Mark Antony, partly for the sake of the money which he promised to give him. Ibid. cap. xxvi.—NEWTON.

[109] Ver. 427. *Get riches first*, &c. Hor. 'Epist.' 1. i. 53:—

Quærenda pecunia primum est.

NEWTON.

[110] Ver. 429.

Riches are mine, fortune is in my hand:
They whom I favour thrive in wealth amain.

This temptation we owe to our author's invention, as Mr. Thyer observes, who adds, that "it is very happily contrived, as it gradually leads the reader on to the stronger ones in the following books." It affords also a fine opportunity of concluding this book with some reflections, the beauty of which Mr. Thyer has justly noted, on the insufficiency of riches and power to the happiness of mankind. The language here reminds us of Spenser, who puts

a similar speech in the mouth of Mammon, 'Faer. Qu.' ii. vii. 8.—DUNSTER.

[111] Ver. 432. *To whom thus Jesus patiently replied.* When our Saviour, a little before, refused to partake of the banquet to which Satan had invited him, the line ran thus, ver. 378 ;—

To whom thus Jesus *temperately* replied ;

but now, when Satan has reproached him with his poverty and low circumstances, the word is fitly altered, and the verse runs thus ;—

To whom thus Jesus *patiently* replied. NEWTON.

[112] Ver. 439. *Gideon, and Jephthah, and the shepherd lad.* Our Saviour is rightly made to cite his first instances from Scripture, and of his own nation, as being the best known to him ; but it is with great art that the poet also supposes him not to be unacquainted with heathen history, for the sake of introducing a greater variety of examples. Gideon saith of himself :—"O my Lord, wherewith shall I save Israel? behold my family is poor in Manasseh, and I am the least in my father's house," Judges vi. 15. And Jephthah "was the son of an harlot," and his brethre: "thrust him out, and said unto him, Thou shalt not inherit in our father's house, for thou art the son of a strange woman," Judges xi. 1, 2. And the exaltation of David from a sheep-hook to a sceptre is very well known. NEWTON.

[113] Ver. 446. *Quintius, Fabricius, Curius, Regulus?* Quintius Cincinnatus was twice invited from following the plough, to be consul and dictator of Rome ; and after he had subdued the enemy, when the senate would have enriched him with public lands and private contributions, he rejected all these offers, and retired again to his cottage and old course of life. Fabricius could not be bribed by

all the large offers of king Pyrrhus to aid him in negociating a peace with the Romans; and yet he lived and died so poor, that he was buried at the public expense, and his daughters' fortunes were paid out of the treasury. Curius Dentatus would not accept of the lands which the senate had assigned him for the reward of his victories; and when the ambassadors of the Samnites offered him a large sum of money as he was sitting at the fire and roasting turnips with his own hands, he nobly refused to take it; saying that it was his ambition not to be rich, but to command those who were so: and Regulus, after performing many great exploits, was taken prisoner by the Carthaginians, and sent with the ambassadors to Rome to treat of peace, upon oath to return to Carthage if no peace or exchange of prisoners should be agreed upon: but was himself the first to dissuade a peace; and chose to leave his country, family, friends, every thing, and return a glorious captive to certain tortures and death, rather than suffer the senate to conclude a dishonourable treaty. Our Saviour cites these instances of noble Romans in order of time, as he did those of his own nation: and, as Mr. Calton observes, the Romans in the most degenerate times were fond of these, and some other like examples of ancient virtue; and their writers of all sorts delight to introduce them: but the greatest honour that poetry ever did them is here, by the praise of the Son of God.—NEWTON.

[114] Ver. 447.

For I esteem those names of men so poor,
Who could do mighty things, &c.

The author had here plainly Claudian in his mind, 'De IV. Cons. Honor.' 412:—

Discitur hinc quantum paupertas sobria possit:
Pauper erat Curius, cum reges vinceret armis;
Pauper Fabricius, Pyrrhi cum sperneret aurum;
Sordida Serranus flexit dictator aratra; &c.

And again, 'In Rufinum,' i. 200:—

> Semper inops, quicunque cupit. Contentus honesto
> Fabricius parvo spernebat munera regum,
> Sudabatque gravi consul Serranus aratro,
> Et casa pugnaces Curios angusta tegebat.
> Hæc mihi paupertas opulentior.

It is probable that he remembered here some of his beloved republicans,—

> those names of men so poor
> Who could do mighty things;

and it is possible that he might also think of himself, who—

> could contemn
> Riches though offer'd from the hand of kings;

if that story be true of his having been offered to be Latin secretary to Charles the Second, and of his refusing it.—Newton.

With the citation of "Riches, though offer'd from the hand of kings," compare Plutarch, 'Life of Cicero:'—Καὶ δῶρα μὲν οὐδὲ τῶν βασιλέων διδόντων ἔλαβε.—Dunster.

[115] Ver. 453. *Extol not riches then*, &c. Milton concludes this book, and our Saviour's reply to Satan, with a series of thoughts as noble and just, and as worthy of the speaker, as can possibly be imagined. I think one may venture to affirm, that, as the 'Paradise Regained' is a poem entirely moral and religious, the excellency of which does not consist so much in bold figures and strong images, as in deep and virtuous sentiments expressed with a becoming gravity, and a certain decent majesty; this is as true an instance of the sublime as the battles of the angels in the 'Paradise Lost.'—Thyer.

This is an excellent note of Thyer, worthy to be always kept in remembrance.

[116] Ver. 453. *The toil of fools,*
The wise man's cumbrance, if not snare; more apt
To slacken Virtue, and abate her edge,
Than prompt her to do aught may merit praise.

Thus Juvenal, Sat. vi. 297:—

Prima peregrinos obscœna pecunia mores
Intulit, et turpi fregerunt sæcula luxu
Divitiæ molles.

And see Spenser, 'Faery Queen,' ii. vii. 12, 13.—DUNSTER.

[117] Ver. 463.
For therein stands the office of a king,
His honour, virtue, merit, and chief praise,
That for the publick all this weight he bears.

Milton, in the height of his political ardour, declared that he was not actuated "by hatred to kings, but only to tyrants:" neither is there any occasion to question the truth of this assertion; but such was his apprehension of monarchical tyranny, that the current of his prejudices certainly ran very strongly in favour of a republican government. Even in one of his latest political publications, 'The ready and easy Way to establish a Free Commonwealth,' he professes, that "though there may be such a king, who may regard the common good before his own, yet this rarely happens in a monarchy not elective;" and, on this ground, he strongly remonstrates against the risk of admitting kingship. The contest however was now completely over; and our author, having seen the fallacy, not only of his hopes, but also of his confidence in those persons, of whose consummate hypocrisy his ardent integrity had been the dupe, seems, in thus sketching out the laborious duties of a good and patriotic prince, to be somewhat more reconciled to kingly government. About this time, also, seemingly under the same impression, he had proceeded in his history, and composed the fifth and sixth books, in which we find no marks of any splenetic dislike to kings:

on the contrary, many of the characters of our early monarchs are drawn, not merely with an impartial hand, but often with a favourable one. The character of Alfred, in particular, is given with the most affectionate admiration; and is not without its resemblance to the compressed description of a good king in this place. See his 'History of England,' b. v.—DUNSTER.

[118] Ver. 466. *Yet he, who reigns within himself*, &c. Such sentiments are inculcated not only by the philosophers, but also by the poets; as Hor. Ode II. 9:—

> Latius regnes avidum domando
> Spiritum; &c.

and see Sat. II. vii. 83.—NEWTON.

The 'Paradise Regained,' Mr. Hayley very justly observes, "is a poem that particularly deserves to be recommended to ardent and ingenuous youth; as it is admirably calculated to inspire that spirit of self-command, which is, as Milton esteemed it, the truest heroism, and the triumph of christianity." Life of Milton, p. 126.—DUNSTER.

[119] Ver. 471.

> *Subject himself to anarchy within,*
> *Or lawless passions in him, which he serves.*

Palpably alluding to Charles the Second, and his dissolute manners. Compare 'Paradise Lost,' b. xii. 86, &c.—DUNSTER.

[120] Ver. 473.

> *But to guide nations in the way of truth*
> *By saving doctrine, and from errour lead,*
> *To know, and knowing worship God aright,*
> *Is yet more kingly.*

In this speech concerning riches and realms, our poet has culled all the choicest, finest flowers out of the heathen poets

and philosophers who have written upon these subjects. It is not so much their words, as their substance sublimed and improved: but here he soars above them; and nothing could have given him so complete an idea of a divine teacher, as the life and character of our blessed Saviour.—NEWTON.

[121] Ver. 478.

That other o'er the body only reigns,
And oft by force; which, to a generous mind,
So reigning, can be no sincere delight.

This is perfectly consonant to our Lord's early sentiments, as the poet describes him relating them in the first book of this poem, ver. 221, &c.—DUNSTER.

[122] Ver. 481.

Besides, to give a kingdom hath been thought
Greater and nobler done, &c.

So Hephæstion to those who transferred the kingdom of Sidon from themselves to another; Quint. Curt. IV. 1.—"Vos quidem macti virtute, inquit, estote, qui primi intellexistis, quanto majus esset regnum fastidire quam accipere," &c. Dioclesian, Charles V., and others, who have resigned the crown, were perhaps in our author's thought, upon this occasion: for, as Seneca says, Thyest. III. 529:—

Habere regnum, casus est; virtus, dare.—NEWTON.

Possibly Milton had here in his mind the famous Christina, queen of Sweden, who, after having reigned twenty-one years, resigned her crown to her cousin Charles Gustavus, when she was still a young woman, being only thirty years old. Our author had before paid her considerable compliments. The verses under Cromwell's picture, sent to Christina, have been generally supposed to be his; though Mr. Warton inclines to think they were written by Andrew Marvel; and adds, that he suspects "Milton's habit of facility in elegiac Latinity had long ago ceased." What ground he had for this suspicion he does not specify, nor is

it easy to conjecture. I should not willingly persuade myself that our author could soon lose any faculty which he had acquired. Besides, these verses must have been written before the year 1654, when Christina abdicated; and only nine years before that, when he published a collection of his Latin and English poems in 1645, he had added to his seventh Elegy ten lines, which sufficiently show that he then perfectly retained his elegiac Latinity; and why it should be supposed entirely to cease in eight or nine years more, I cannot imagine. As Marvel was not his associate in the secretaryship till the year 1657, Milton has officially the best claim to them: it was also an employment, which, we may well suppose, he was fond of; as at this time he certainly thought highly of Christina, and was particularly flattered with the idea, that, on reading his 'Defensio Populi,' she withdrew all her protection from his antagonist Salmasius, who was then resident at her court; and whom, it was then said, she dismissed with contempt, as a parasite and an advocate of tyranny. Accordingly, in his 'Defensio Secunda,' Milton honours her with a most splendid panegyric; and in appealing to her that he had no determined prejudices against kings, nor any wish wantonly to attack their rights, he particularly congratulates himself upon having a witness of his integrity *tam vere regiam*. The expression is sufficiently obvious and hackneyed in the flattery of royalty; but it is well worth observing, when it comes from one who so seldom sings in that strain. It may also be noticed here, as we trace a resemblance of it in some of the preceding lines; where our author, having said that in the laborious and disinterested discharge of magistracy consists the real and proper "office of a king," proceeds to ascribe a superior degree of royalty, or the most distinguished eminence, to him who is duly practised in the habit of self-command;

> Yet he, who reigns within himself, and rules
> Passions, desires, and fears, is more a king;

and still more to him who conscientiously labours for the well-doing and well-being of mankind at large, by the zealous propagation of truth and pure unadulterated religion;

> But to guide nations in the way of truth
> By saving doctrine, and from errour lead,
> To know, and knowing worship God aright,
> Is yet more kingly.

Milton, it appears, however, was rather unfortunate in his selection of a favourite from among the crowned heads of his time. Mr. Warton, in his note on the 'Verses to Christina,' collects many curious anecdotes of her improprieties and absurdities; and Harte, the English historian of Gustavus Adolphus, terms her "an unaccountable woman; reading much, yet not extremely learned; a collector and critic in the fine arts, but collecting without judgment, and forming conclusions without taste; affecting pomp, and rendering herself a beggar; fond to receive servile dependence, yet divesting herself of the means; paying court to the most serious christians, and making profession of little less than atheism." But our author saw only the bright side of her character; and considered her as a learned, pious, patriotic, disinterested princess.—DUNSTER.

See farther information, drawn from indisputable authority, relating to the extraordinary Christina, in my note on the poet's verses to her.—TODD.

[123] Ver. 482. *And to lay down*
Far more magnanimous, than to assume.

We may rather trace Milton here to Macrobius, than to the passage cited in a preceding note from Q. Curtius by Dr. Newton:—"Quid? quod duas virtutes, quæ inter nobiles quoque unice claræ sunt, in uno video fuisse mancipio; imperium regendi peritiam, et imperium contemnendi magnanimitatem. Anaxilaus enim Messenius, qui Messanam in Sicilia condidit, fuit Rheginorum tyrannus. Is, cum

parvos relinqueret liberos, Micitho servo suo commendasse contentus est: is tutelam sancte gessit; imperiumque tam clementer obtinuit, ut Rhegini a servo regi non dedignarentur. Perductus deinde in ætatem pueris et bona et imperium tradidit. Ipse parvo viatico sumpto profectus est; et Olympiæ cum summa tranquillitate consenuit." Saturnal. i. 11.—DUNSTER.

[121] Ver. 486. *To gain a sceptre.* Dunster gives the following closing summary of this book:—"Our Saviour's passing the night is well described. The coming on of morn is a beautiful counterpart of "night coming on in the desert," which so finely closed the preceding book. Our Lord's waking—his viewing the country—and the description of the "pleasant grove," which is to be the scene of the banquet—are all set off with every grace that poetry can give. The appearance of Satan, varied from his first disguise, as he has now quite another part to act, is perfectly well imagined; and his speech, referring to Scripture examples of persons miraculously fed in desert places, is truly artful and in character; as is his second sycophantic address, where, having acknowledged our Lord's right to all created things, he adds,

> Behold,
> Nature ashamed, or, better to express,
> Troubled that thou shouldst hunger, hath purvey'd
> From all the elements her choicest store,
> To treat thee as beseems, and as her Lord,
> With honour.

The banquet, ver. 340, comprises every thing that Roman luxury, Eastern magnificence, mythological fable, or poetic fancy can supply; and, if compared with similar descriptions in the Italian poets, will be found much superior to them. In the concluding part of his invitation, the virulence of the arch-fiend breaks out, as it were involuntarily, in a sarcastic allusion to the divine prohibition respect-

ing the tree of knowledge; but he immediately resumes his hypocritical servility, which much resembles his language in the ninth book of the 'Paradise Lost,' when, in his addresses to Eve, "persuasive rhetorick sleek'd his tongue." The last three lines are quite in this style:—

> All these are spirits of air, and woods, and springs,
> Thy gentle ministers, who come to pay
> Thee homage, and acknowledge thee their Lord.

Our Lord's reply is truly sublime:—

> I can at will, doubt not, as soon as thou,
> Command a table in the wilderness,
> And call swift flights of angels ministrant,
> Array'd in glory, on my cup to attend.

This part of the book, in particular, is so highly finished, that I could wish it had concluded, as it might well have done, with the vanishing of the banquet. The present conclusion, from its subject, required another style of poetry: it has little description, no machinery, and no mythological allusions to elevate and adorn it; but it is not without a sublimity of another kind. Satan's speech, in which he assails our Lord with the temptation of riches as the means of acquiring greatness, is in a noble tone of dramatic dialogue; and the reply of our Saviour, where he rejects the offer, contains a series of the finest moral precepts, expressed in that plain majestic language, which, in many parts of didactic poetry, is the most becoming *vestitus orationis*. Still it must be acknowledged, that all this is much lost and obscured by the radiance and enriched descriptions of the preceding three hundred lines. These had been particularly relieved, and their beauty had been rendered more eminently conspicuous, from the studied equality and scriptural plainness of the exordium of this book; which has the effect ascribed by Cicero to the subordinate and less shining parts of any writing, "quo magis id, quod erit illuminatum, extare atque eminere videatur,"—De Orator. iii. 101. ed. Proust. But the conclusion of this book, though excellent

in its kind, unfortunately, from its loco-position, appears to considerable disadvantage. Writers of didactic poetry, to secure the continuance of their readers' attention, must be careful, not only to diversify, but as much as possible gradually to elevate, their strain. Accordingly, they generally open their several divisions with their dryer precepts, proceed then to more pleasing illustrations, and are particularly studious to close each book with some description, or episode, of the most embellished and attractive kind."

PARADISE REGAINED.

BOOK III.

INTRODUCTORY REMARKS.

The third book of the 'Paradise Regained' continues to be argumentative: but Satan, having found himself hitherto foiled, begins by the most wily and flattering compliments. He now dwells upon the attractions and delights of worldly glory; and tells our Saviour how he is fitted to attain it above all other beings, both by counsel and action; and that it is his duty not to throw away his gifts, and pass his life in obscurity: he says, that men, at a more youthful age than his, have conquered the world. Our Saviour replies calmly:—

> Thou neither dost persuade me to seek wealth
> For empire's sake, nor empire to affect
> For glory's sake, by all thy argument:
> For what is glory but the blaze of fame,
> The people's praise, if always praise unmix'd?

He then describes what is true glory; and instances Job, who was more famous in heaven than known on earth.

He next expatiates on the false glory of conquerors:—

> Till conquerour Death discovers them scarce men,
> Rolling in brutish vices, and deform'd;
> Violent or shameful death* their due reward.

* Here is a little carelessness in this repetition of the word "death."

After Job, he next names Socrates; who, he says, lives now

Equal in fame to proudest conquerours.

I must here draw the reader's notice to Thyer's observation, who praises "the author's great art, in weaving into the body of so short a work so many grand points of the christian theology and morality." Jesus exclaims;—

But why should man seek glory, who of his own
Hath nothing; and to whom nothing belongs,
But condemnation, ignominy, and shame?

Satan, not silenced, takes up another ground: he appeals to Christ's duty to free his country from heathen servitude. Our Saviour answers that this must be done in the Almighty's time, and by the Almighty's means; but demands of Satan, why he should be anxious for his rise, when it would be his own fall.

Satan's cunning reply is one of the finest of all that Milton has invented of him. Then it was that he took Christ to a high mountain, to show him the monarchies of the earth. The description of the prospect at the foot of the mountain is in the richest style of picturesque poetry:* he now points out the Assyrian empire.

After going through an immense geographical view, conducted with wonderful art, skill, and learning, and every where discriminated by the happiest epithets;—Satan says,

All these the Parthian (now some ages past,
By great Arsaces led, who founded first
That empire) under his dominion holds,
From the luxurious kings of Antioch won.

Then comes a most magnificent picture of great armies going

* The reader will hardly require to be directed to the glorious realization of this passage in the masterly conception of Mr. Turner, which graces and adorns this volume.

out to battle. This is done, to show our Saviour the necessity of worldly power, and numerous military preparations, to enable him to fulfil the duties for which he supposes him to be sent on earth;—the recovery of the throne of David. For this end he offers to secure for him the Parthian alliance.

Our Saviour, in answer, speaks with scorn "of the cumbersome luggage of war;" and at the same time reproaches Satan with the insidiousness of his pretended zeal for the welfare of Israel, or David, or his throne, when he had hitherto proved their greatest enemy.

Of the poetry of this character it is scarcely necessary to urge the exalted merits. Imagination exerts itself in various tracks, and various forms: here it executes its duty in filling up the outlines of a divine story;—that is, a story of inspired wisdom,—of holiest virtue,—of superiority to all worldly temptations,—of patient suffering,—of faith in the Supreme Being,—of examples of the punishment of the wicked,—and of the inappeasable malice of Satan. It is necessarily therefore more intellectual, spiritual, and didactic, in every part, than material: and yet it is so intermixed with a due portion of imagery, that the fertility of a rich poetical genius pervades the whole poem.

Mind is of more value than matter: it is the soul which belongs to the image, rather than the image itself, which is the gem: thought, opinion, conclusion, the impression of the heart,—these are what instruct us, and elevate our nature. Of these, what poem is so full as 'Paradise Regained?' Its mere learning is miraculous; but that is of comparatively less interest. Yet the more enlarged is the author's experience, the wider the field whence he derives his deductions and convictions, the more numerous the eminent minds by whose wisdom he is aided, the richer

and more sure must be the intellectual fruits at which he arrives.

Milton is so familiar with the ancient classics, that he perpetually falls, not only into a concurrence of observation and sympathy of feeling, but into their very expressions: yet not as if it was borrowed, but as if it was simultaneous: its freshness and its force prove its originality.

Our Saviour's answer to Satan, in assertion of the vanity of human glory, astonishes by its vigour of thought and blaze of eloquence. It is like the beams of the cheering sun let in upon a billowy and blinding mist: the understanding ratifies it; the conscience hails it. That no doctrine can be more pure, more noble, more sound, more useful than this, will scarcely be denied: its poetical character depends upon its loftiness, which also is of the most decisive kind.

The poetry of mere style, the artifices of language, are nothing: great thoughts and great images will support themselves. The necessity of illustration proves that the primary idea or image is dark, or weak, or trifling. Grandeur or beauty wants no dress: metaphorical phrases are often corrupt; and similes are generally superfluous and impertinent; yet these are taken to be the essence of modern poetry. I mention this, because the mere reader of the productions of our own times is apt to suppose Milton prosaic, when his strains are of the most poetical tone; because his style is simple and pure. The finest passages in our Saviour's exposition of the nothingness of human glory, are the plainest: till poets learn this, they will be but frivolous and gaudy pretenders. Whoever *thinks* magnificently, scorns the aid of flowers and spangles.

If we could bring back poetry, even in mere style, to

what it was in the times of Spenser, and Shakspeare, and Milton, we should indeed be gaining an immense benefit to the world of English readers, and redeeming the splendour of the Muse's name and office. The unmeaning gaudiness, the gilded inanity of the greater part of modern verses, has turned the public taste for poetical composition into loathing. Let the reader study Milton's energetic thought and chaste manner day and night; and if at first any factitious taste may render it more a duty than a pleasure, his diseased habit will soon amend itself, and be changed to simplicity and purity. Then he will find his momentary delight followed by no satiety; but the wholesome food strengthen his mind, and grow with his growth. If the 'Paradise Regained' does not please him, let him be sure that he has much to amend in his intellectual qualifications.

ARGUMENT OF BOOK III.

Satan, in a speech of much flattering commendation, endeavours to awaken in Jesus a passion for glory, by particularising various instances of conquests achieved, and great actions performed, by persons at an early period of life. Our Lord replies, by showing the vanity of worldly fame, and the improper means by which it is generally attained; and contrasts with it the true glory of religious patience and virtuous wisdom, as exemplified in the character of Job. Satan justifies the love of glory from the example of God himself, who requires it from all his creatures. Jesus detects the fallacy of this argument, by showing that, as goodness is the true ground on which glory is due to the great Creator of all things, sinful man can have no right whatever to it.—Satan then urges our Lord respecting his claim to the throne of David: he tells him, that the kingdom of Judea, being at that time a province of Rome, cannot be got possession of without much personal exertion on his part, and presses him to lose no time in beginning to reign. Jesus refers him to the time allotted for this, as for all other things; and, after intimating somewhat respecting his own previous sufferings, asks Satan, why he should be so solicitous for the exaltation of one, whose rising was destined to be his fall. Satan replies, that his own desperate state, by excluding all hope, leaves little room for fear; and that, as his own punishment was equally doomed, he is not interested in preventing the reign of one, from whose apparent benevolence he might rather

hope for some interference in his favour.—Satan still pursues his former incitements; and supposing that the seeming reluctance of Jesus to be thus advanced might arise from his being unacquainted with the world and its glories, conveys him to the summit of a high mountain, and from thence shows him most of the kingdoms of Asia, particularly pointing out to his notice some extraordinary military preparations of the Parthians to resist the incursions of the Scythians. He then informs our Lord, that he showed him this purposely, that he might see how necessary military exertions are to retain the possession of kingdoms, as well as to subdue them at first; and advises him to consider how impossible it was to maintain Judea against two such powerful neighbours as the Romans and Parthians, and how necessary it would be to form an alliance with one or other of them. At the same time, he recommends, and engages to secure to him, that of the Parthians; and tells him that by this means his power will be defended from any thing that Rome or Cæsar might attempt against it, and that he will be able to extend his glory wide, and especially to accomplish what was particularly necessary to make the throne of Judea really the throne of David, the deliverance and restoration of the ten tribes, still in a state of captivity. Jesus, having briefly noticed the vanity of military efforts and the weakness of the arm of flesh, says, that when the time comes for ascending his allotted throne, he shall not be slack: he remarks on Satan's extraordinary zeal for the deliverance of the Israelites, to whom he had always showed himself an enemy; and declares their servitude to be the consequence of their idolatry; but adds, that at a future time it may perhaps please God to recall them, and restore them to their liberty and native land.

PARADISE REGAINED.

BOOK III.

So spake the Son of God; and Satan stood
Awhile, as mute, confounded what to say,
What to reply, confuted, and convinced
Of his weak arguing and fallacious drift:
At length, collecting all his serpent wiles,
With soothing words renew'd him thus accosts:[1]—
I see thou know'st[2] what is of use to know,
What best to say canst say, to do canst do;
Thy actions to thy words accord; thy words
To thy large heart give utterance due; thy heart
Contains of good, wise, just, the perfect shape.[3]
Should kings and nations from thy mouth consult,
Thy counsel would be as the oracle
Urim and Thummim, those oraculous gems
On Aaron's breast; or tongue of seers old
Infallible:[4] or wert thou sought to deeds

That might require the array of war, thy skill
Of conduct would be such, that all the world
Could not sustain thy prowess, or subsist
In battle, though against thy few in arms.
These godlike virtues wherefore dost thou hide,
Affecting private life, or more obscure
In savage wilderness? Wherefore deprive
All earth her wonder at thy acts, thyself
The fame and glory; glory, the reward[5]
That sole excites to high attempts, the flame
Of most erected spirits,[6] most temper'd pure
Ethereal, who all pleasures else despise,
All treasures and all gain esteem as dross,[7]
And dignities and powers all but the highest?
Thy years[8] are ripe and over-ripe; the son
Of Macedonian Philip had ere these
Won Asia, and the throne of Cyrus held
At his dispose;[9] young Scipio had brought down
The Carthaginian pride; young Pompey quell'd
The Pontick king, and in triumph had rode.[10]
Yet years, and to ripe years judgment mature,
Quench not the thirst of glory, but augment.
Great Julius, whom now all the world admires,
The more he grew in years, the more inflamed
With glory, wept that he had lived so long
Inglorious:[11] but thou yet art not too late.

To whom our Saviour calmly thus replied:—
Thou neither dost persuade me[12] to seek wealth
For empire's sake, nor empire to affect
For glory's sake, by all thy argument.
For what is glory but the blaze of fame,
The people's praise,[13] if always praise unmix'd?

And what the people but a herd confused,
A miscellaneous rabble, who extol
Things vulgar,[14] and, well weigh'd, scarce worth the praise?
They praise, and they admire, they know not what,
And know not whom, but as one leads the other;
And what delight to be by such extoll'd,
To live upon their tongues, and be their talk,
Of whom to be dispraised were no small praise?
His lot who dares be singularly good.[15]
The intelligent among them and the wise
Are few, and glory scarce of few is raised.[16]
This is true glory and renown;[17] when God,
Looking on the earth, with approbation marks
The just man,[18] and divulges him through heaven
To all his angels, who with true applause
Recount his praises: thus he did to Job,
When, to extend his fame through heaven and earth,
As thou to thy reproach mayst well remember,
He ask'd thee,—Hast thou seen my servant Job?
Famous he was in heaven, on earth less known;
Where glory is false glory, attributed
To things not glorious, men not worthy of fame.[19]
They err, who count it glorious to subdue
By conquest far and wide,[20] to overrun
Large countries, and in field great battles win,
Great cities by assault: what do these worthies,
But rob, and spoil,[21] burn, slaughter, and enslave
Peaceable nations, neighbouring or remote,
Made captive, yet deserving freedom more

Than those their conquerours, who leave behind
Nothing but ruin[22] wheresoe'er they rove,
And all the flourishing works of peace destroy;
Then swell with pride, and must be titled gods,
Great benefactors of mankind, deliverers,[23]
Worship'd with temple, priest, and sacrifice?
One is the son of Jove, of Mars the other;[24]
Till conquerour Death discover them scarce men,
Rolling in brutish vices, and deform'd,[25]
Violent or shameful death their due reward.
But if there be in glory aught of good,
It may by means far different be attain'd,
Without ambition, war, or violence;
By deeds of peace, by wisdom eminent,
By patience, temperance:[26] I mention still
Him, whom thy wrongs, with saintly patience borne,
Made famous in a land and times obscure:
Who names not now with honour patient Job?
Poor Socrates,[27] (who next more memorable?)
By what he taught, and suffer'd for so doing,
For truth's sake suffering death unjust, lives now
Equal in fame to proudest conquerours.[28]
Yet if for fame and glory aught be done,
Aught suffer'd; if young African for fame
His wasted country freed from Punick rage;[29]
The deed becomes unpraised, the man at least,
And loses, though but verbal, his reward.
Shall I seek glory then, as vain men seek,
Oft not deserved? I seek not mine, but his
Who sent me; and thereby witness whence I am.
To whom the tempter murmuring thus replied:—

Think not so slight of glory;[30] therein least
Resembling thy great Father: he seeks glory,
And for his glory all things made, all things
Orders and governs; not content in heaven,
By all his angels glorified, requires
Glory from men, from all men, good or bad,
Wise or unwise, no difference, no exemption:
Above all sacrifice or hallow'd gift,
Glory he requires, and glory he receives,
Promiscuous from all nations,[31] Jew or Greek,
Or barbarous, nor exception hath declared:
From us, his foes pronounced, glory he exacts.
To whom our Saviour fervently replied:
And reason; since his Word all things produced,
Though chiefly not for glory as prime end,
But to show forth his goodness, and impart
His good communicable to every soul
Freely; of whom what could he less expect
Than glory and benediction, that is, thanks,
The slightest, easiest, readiest recompense[32]
From them who could return him nothing else;
And, not returning that, would likeliest render
Contempt instead, dishonour, obloquy?
Hard recompense, unsuitable return
For so much good, so much beneficence!
But why should man seek glory, who of his own
Hath nothing, and to whom nothing belongs,
But condemnation, ignominy, and shame?
Who, for so many benefits received,
Turn'd recreant[33] to God, ingrate and false,
And so of all true good himself despoil'd:
Yet, sacrilegious, to himself would take

That which to God alone of right belongs:
Yet so much bounty is in God, such grace;
That who advance his glory, not their own,
Them he himself to glory will advance.
So spake the Son of God: and here again
Satan had not to answer, but stood struck
With guilt of his own sin; for he himself,
Insatiable of glory, had lost all:
Yet of another plea bethought him soon.
Of glory, as thou wilt, said he, so deem;
Worth or not worth the seeking,[34] let it pass.
But to a kingdom thou art born, ordain'd
To sit upon thy father David's throne,
By mother's side thy father; though thy right
Be now in powerful hands, that will not part
Easily from possession won with arms:
Judea now and all the Promised Land,
Reduced a province under Roman yoke,[35]
Obeys Tiberius; nor is always ruled
With temperate sway:[36] oft have they violated
The temple,[37] oft the law, with foul affronts,
Abominations rather, as did once
Antiochus: and think'st thou to regain
Thy right, by sitting still, or thus retiring?
So did not Maccabeus:[38] he indeed
Retired into the desert, but with arms;
And o'er a mighty king so oft prevail'd,
That by strong hand his family obtain'd,
Though priests, the crown, and David's throne usurp'd,
With Modin and her suburbs once content.
If kingdom move thee not,[39] let move thee zeal

And duty; zeal and duty are not slow,
But on occasion's forelock watchful wait:[40]
They themselves rather are occasion best;
Zeal of thy father's house,[41] duty to free
Thy country from her heathen servitude.
So shalt thou best fulfil, best verify
The prophets old, who sung thy endless reign;
The happier reign, the sooner it begins:
Reign then; what canst thou better do the while?

To whom our Saviour answer thus return'd:
All things are best fulfill'd in their due time;
And time there is for all things, Truth hath said.[42]
If of my reign Prophetick Writ hath told,
That it shall never end; so, when begin,
The Father in his purpose hath decreed;
He, in whose hand all times and seasons roll.[43]
What if he hath decreed that I shall first
Be tried in humble state, and things adverse,[44]
By tribulations, injuries, insults,
Contempts, and scorns, and snares, and violence,
Suffering, abstaining, quietly expecting,
Without distrust or doubt, that he may know
What I can suffer, how obey? Who best
Can suffer, best can do; best reign, who first
Well hath obey'd;[45] just trial, ere I merit
My exaltation without change or end.
But what concerns it thee, when I begin
My everlasting kingdom? Why art thou
Solicitous? What moves thy inquisition?
Know'st thou not that my rising is thy fall,[46]
And my promotion will be thy destruction?

To whom the tempter, inly rack'd, replied :
Let that come when it comes ; all hope is lost
Of my reception into grace : what worse ?
For where no hope is left, is left no fear :[47]
If there be worse, the expectation more
Of worse torments me than the feeling can.
I would be at the worst : worst is my port,
My harbour, and my ultimate repose :
The end I would attain, my final good.
My errour was my errour, and my crime
My crime ; whatever, for itself condemn'd ;
And will alike be punish'd, whether thou
Reign or reign not ; though to that gentle brow
Willingly I could fly, and hope thy reign,
From that placid aspect[48] and meek regard,
Rather than aggravate my evil state,
Would stand between me and thy Father's ire,[49]
(Whose ire I dread more than the fire of hell)
A shelter, and a kind of shading cool
Interposition, as a summer's cloud.[50]
If I then to the worst that can be haste,
Why move thy feet so slow to what is best,
Happiest, both to thyself and all the world,
That thou, who worthiest art, shouldst be their king ?
Perhaps thou linger'st, in deep thoughts detain'd
Of the enterprise so hazardous and high !
No wonder ; for, though in thee be united
What of perfection can in man be found,
Or human nature can receive, consider,
Thy life hath yet been private, most part spent
At home, scarce view'd the Galilean towns,

And once a year Jerusalem,[51] few days'
Short sojourn; and what thence couldst thou observe?
The world thou hast not seen, much less her glory,
Empires, and monarchs, and their radiant courts,
Best school of best experience, quickest insight
In all things that to greatest actions lead.
The wisest, unexperienced, will be ever
Timorous and loth, with novice modesty,
(As he who, seeking asses, found a kingdom)[52]
Irresolute, unhardy, unadventurous:
But I will bring thee[53] where thou soon shalt quit
Those rudiments, and see before thine eyes
The monarchies of the earth, their pomp and state;
Sufficient introduction to inform
Thee, of thyself so apt, in regal arts
And regal mysteries; that thou mayst know
How best their opposition to withstand.
With that, (such power was given him then) he took[54]
The Son of God up to a mountain high.
It was a mountain,[55] at whose verdant feet
A spacious plain, outstretch'd in circuit wide,
Lay pleasant; from his side two rivers flow'd,
The one winding, the other straight,[56] and left between
Fair champain with less rivers intervein'd,[57]
Then meeting join'd their tribute to the sea:[58]
Fertile of corn the glebe, of oil, and wine;[59]
With herds the pastures throng'd, with flocks the hills;

Huge cities and high-tower'd,[60] that well might seem
The seats of mightiest monarchs; and so large
The prospect was, that here and there was room
For barren desert, fountainless and dry.
To this high mountain too the tempter brought
Our Saviour, and new train of words began:
Well have we speeded, and o'er hill and dale,[61]
Forest and field and flood, temples and towers,
Cut shorter many a league: here thou behold'st
Assyria, and her empire's ancient bounds,[62]
Araxes and the Caspian lake; thence on
As far as Indus east, Euphrates west,
And oft beyond: to south the Persian bay,
And, inaccessible,[63] the Arabian drouth:[64]
Here Nineveh,[65] of length within her wall
Several days' journey, built by Ninus old,
Of that first golden monarchy[66] the seat,
And seat of Salmanassar, whose success
Israel in long captivity still mourns:
There Babylon,[67] the wonder of all tongues,
As ancient, but rebuilt by him who twice
Judah and all thy father David's house
Led captive, and Jerusalem laid waste,
Till Cyrus set them free; Persepolis,
His city,[68] there thou seest, and Bactra there;
Ecbatana her structure vast there shows,[69]
And Hecatompylos her hundred gates;
There Susa by Choaspes,[70] amber stream,
The drink of none but kings;[71] of later fame,
Built by Emathian or by Parthian hands,[72]
The great Seleucia, Nisibis, and there

Artaxata, Teredon, Ctesiphon,
Turning with easy eye, thou mayst behold.
All these the Parthian,[73] (now some ages past,
By great Arsaces led, who founded first
That empire) under his dominion holds,
From the luxurious kings of Antioch[74] won.
And just in time thou comest to have a view
Of his great power;[75] for now the Parthian king
In Ctesiphon hath gather'd all his host[76]
Against the Scythian, whose incursions wild
Have wasted Sogdiana; to her aid
He marches now in haste:[77] see, though from far,
His thousands, in what martial equipage
They issue forth, steel bows and shafts their arms,[78]
Of equal dread in flight or in pursuit;
All horsemen, in which fight they most excel:[79]
See how in warlike muster they appear,
In rhombs, and wedges, and half-moons, and wings.

He look'd, and saw what numbers numberless[80]
The city gates out-pour'd,[81] light-armed troops,
In coats of mail and military pride;
In mail their horses clad,[82] yet fleet and strong,
Prauncing their riders bore, the flower and choice
Of many provinces from bound to bound;[83]
From Arachosia, from Candaor east,
And Margiana to the Hyrcanian cliffs
Of Caucasus, and dark Iberian dales;[84]
From Atropatia and the neighbouring plains
Of Adiabene, Media, and the south
Of Susiana, to Balsara's haven.[85]
He saw them in their forms of battle ranged,

How quick they wheel'd, and flying behind them shot
Sharp sleet of arrowy showers[86] against the face
Of their pursuers, and overcame by flight:
The field all iron cast a gleaming brown:[87]
Nor wanted clouds of foot,[88] nor on each horn
Cuirassiers all in steel for standing fight,[89]
Chariots, or elephants indorsed with towers[90]
Of archers; nor of labouring pioneers
A multitude, with spades and axes arm'd
To lay hills plain, fell woods, or valleys fill,
Or where plain was raise hill, or overlay
With bridges rivers proud, as with a yoke:[91]
Mules after these, camels and dromedaries,
And waggons, fraught with utensils of war.
Such forces met not, nor so wide a camp,
When Agrican with all his northern powers
Besieged Albracca,[92] as romances tell,
The city of Gallaphrone, from thence to win
The fairest of her sex Angelica,[93]
His daughter, sought by many prowest knights,
Both Paynim, and the peers of Charlemain.
Such and so numerous was their chivalry:
At sight whereof the fiend yet more presumed,
And to our Saviour thus his words renew'd:[94]
That thou mayst know I seek not to engage
Thy virtue, and not every way secure
On no slight grounds thy safety; hear, and mark,
To what end I have brought thee hither, and shown
All this fair sight: thy kingdom, though foretold
By prophet or by angel, unless thou

Endeavour, as thy father David did,
Thou never shalt obtain; prediction still
In all things, and all men, supposes means;
Without means used, what it predicts revokes.
But, say thou wert possess'd of David's throne,
By free consent of all, none opposite,
Samaritan or Jew; how couldst thou hope
Long to enjoy it, quiet and secure,
Between two such enclosing enemies,
Roman and Parthian? Therefore one of these
Thou must make sure thy own; the Parthian first
By my advice, as nearer and of late
Found able by invasion to annoy
Thy country, and captive lead away her kings,
Antigonus and old Hyrcanus, bound,[95]
Maugre the Roman: it shall be my task
To render thee the Parthian at dispose;
Choose which thou wilt, by conquest or by league:
By him thou shalt regain, without him not,
That which alone can truly re-install thee
In David's royal seat, his true successour,
Deliverance of thy brethren, those ten tribes,
Whose offspring in his territory yet serve,
In Habor, and among the Medes dispersed:[96]
Ten sons of Jacob, two of Joseph,[97] lost
Thus long from Israel, serving, as of old
Their fathers in the land of Egypt served,
This offer sets before thee to deliver.
These if from servitude thou shalt restore
To their inheritance; then, nor till then,
Thou on the throne of David in full glory,
From Egypt to Euphrates,[98] and beyond,

Shalt reign, and Rome or Cæsar not need fear.
To whom our Saviour answer'd thus, unmoved:
Much ostentation vain of fleshly arm[99]
And fragile arms, much instrument of war,
Long in preparing,[100] soon to nothing brought,
Before mine eyes thou hast set; and in my ear
Vented much policy, and projects deep
Of enemies, of aids, battels, and leagues,
Plausible to the world, to me worth naught.
Means I must use, thou say'st; prediction else
Will unpredict,[101] and fail me of the throne.
My time,[102] I told thee, (and that time for thee
Were better farthest off) is not yet come:
When that comes, think not thou to find me slack
On my part aught endeavouring, or to need
Thy politick maxims, or that cumbersome
Luggage of war there shown me, argument
Of human weakness rather than of strength.[103]
My brethren, as thou call'st them, those ten tribes,
I must deliver, if I mean to reign
David's true heir, and his full sceptre sway
To just extent over all Israel's sons.
But whence to thee this zeal? where was it then
For Israel, or for David, or his throne,
When thou stood'st up his tempter[104] to the pride
Of numbering Israel, which cost the lives
Of threescore and ten thousand Israelites
By three days' pestilence? Such was thy zeal
To Israel then; the same that now to me!
As for those captive tribes,[105] themselves were they

Who wrought their own captivity, fell off
From God to worship calves, the deities
Of Egypt, Baal next and Ashtaroth,
And all the idolatries of heathen round,
Besides their other worse than heathenish crimes;
Nor in the land of their captivity
Humbled themselves, or penitent besought
The God of their forefathers; but so died
Impenitent, and left a race behind
Like to themselves, distinguishable scarce
From Gentiles, but by circumcision vain;
And God with idols in their worship join'd.
Should I of these the liberty regard,
Who, freed, as to their ancient patrimony,
Unhumbled, unrepentant, unreform'd,
Headlong would follow; and to their gods perhaps
Of Bethel and of Dan?[106] No; let them serve
Their enemies,[107] who serve idols with God.
Yet he at length, (time to himself best known)
Remembering Abraham, by some wondrous call
May bring them back, repentant and sincere,
And at their passing cleave the Assyrian flood,[108]
While to their native land with joy they haste;
As the Red Sea and Jordan once he cleft,
When to the Promised Land their fathers pass'd:
To his due time and providence I leave them.
So spake Israel's true king, and to the fiend
Made answer meet, that made void all his wiles.[109]
So fares it, when with truth falsehood contends.[110]

NOTES ON BOOK III.

[1] Verse 6. *Him thus accosts.* I consider the opening of this book, with the arguments in favour of worldly glory, and especially our Saviour's answer, to be the finest of the whole poem; notwithstanding that it comes under the classes of character, and sentiment, and language, rather than of story. Its sublime distinctions, its exalted feelings, its magnificent plainness of style, fill one with a sort of glowing approbation, which seems to spiritualise and uplift our nature.

[2] Ver. 7. *I see thou know'st.* The extreme brevity and simplicity, yet noble climax, of this and the four following lines, is admirable.

[3] Ver. 11. *Of good, wise, just, the perfect shape.* Milton, no doubt, by the word "shape," intended to express the meaning of the Greek *ἰδέα*, but in my opinion it does not at all come up to it, and seems rather harsh and inelegant. There are words in all languages which cannot well be translated without losing much of their beauty, and even some of their meaning; of this sort I take the

word "idea" to be. Tully renders it by the word "species" with as little success as Milton has done here by his English "shape."—THYER.

I should rather think it expressed from the *perfecta forma honestatis*, and the *forma ipsa honesti* of Cicero, 'De Fin.' ii. 15. 'De Off.' i. 5. And the more, because he renders *forma* by "shape" in the 'Paradise Lost,' b. iv. 848:—

Virtue in her shape how lovely. NEWTON.

Milton was fond of this phrase.—TODD.

[4] Ver. 15. *Or tongue of seers old Infallible.*

The poet, by mentioning this after Urim and Thummim, seems to allude to the opinion of the Jews, that the Holy Spirit spake to the children of Israel during the tabernacle by Urim and Thummim, and under the first temple by the prophets. See Prideaux's 'Connect.' part i. book 3.—NEWTON.

[5] Ver. 25. *Glory, the reward.* Our Saviour having withstood the allurement of riches, Satan attacks him in the next place with the charms of glory. I have sometimes thought that Milton might possibly take the hint of thus connecting these two temptations from Spenser, who, in his second book of the 'Faery Queen,' representing the virtue of temperance under the character of Guyon, and leading him through various trials of his constancy, brings him to the house of riches, or "Mammon's delve," as he terms it; and immediately after to the palace of glory, which he describes, in his allegorical manner, under the figure of a beautiful woman called Philotime.—THYER.

[6] Ver. 26. *The flame Of most erected spirits.*

Silius Ital. vi. 332. "Erected spirits" is a classical phrase.

"Magno animo et erecto est, nec unquam succumbit inimicis, nec fortunæ quidem," Cicero, 'Pro Rege Deiotaro,' 13. And Seneca, Epist. ix. "Ad hoc enim multis illi rebus opus est; ad illud, tantum animo sano et erecto, et despiciente fortunam."

It occurs likewise in 'Paradise Lost,' b. i. 679 :—

> Mammon, the least erected spirit that fell
> From heaven. DUNSTER.

[7] Ver. 28. *Who all pleasures else despise,*
All treasures and all gain esteem as dross.

Thus Spenser, in the conclusion of his 'Hymn of Heavenly Love:'—

> Seem dirt and dross in thy pure-sighted eye.

And Milton again, in his 'Verses on Time:'—

> Which is no more than what is false and vain,
> And merely mortal dross. DUNSTER.

[8] Ver. 31. *Thy years,* &c. Our Saviour's temptation was soon after his baptism; and he was baptized when he was "about thirty years of age," Luke iii. 23.—NEWTON.

[9] Ver. 34. *At his dispose.* Shakspeare writes "dispose" for disposal, K. John, a. i. s. 3. "Needs must you lay your heart at his dispose."—DUNSTER.

[10] Ver. 35. *Young Pompey quell'd*
The Pontick king, and in triumph had rode.

In this instance our author is not so exact as in the rest; for when Pompey was sent to command the war in Asia against Mithridates king of Pontus, he was above forty, but had signalised himself by many extraordinary actions in his younger years, and had obtained the honour of two triumphs before that time.—NEWTON.

[11] Ver. 41. *Wept that he had lived so long*
Inglorious.

Alluding to a story related of Julius Cæsar, that, one day reading the history of Alexander, he sat a great while very thoughtful, and at last burst into tears; and his friends wondering at the reason of it; "Do you not think," said he, "I have just cause to weep, when I consider that Alexander at my age had conquered so many nations, and I have all this time done nothing that is memorable?" See Plutarch's 'Life of Cæsar.'—NEWTON.

"Inglorious" here is Virgil's *inglorius*, i. e. insensible to the charms of glory, 'Georg.' ii. 485:—

> Rura mihi et rigui placeant in vallibus amnes;
> Flumina amem sylvasque inglorius. DUNSTER.

[12] Ver. 44. *Thou neither dost persuade me*, &c. How admirably does Milton in this speech expose the emptiness and uncertainty of a popular character; and found true glory upon its only basis, the approbation of the God of Truth!—THYER.

[13] Ver. 48. *The people's praise*, &c. We may compare with this and some of the following lines the 31st stanza of Giles Fletcher's 'Christ's Triumph over Death:'—

> Frail multitude! whose giddy law is list,
> And best applause is windy flattering,
> Most like the breath of which it doth consist,
> No sooner blown but as soon vanishing,
> As much desired as little profiting,
> That makes the men that have it oft as light
> As those that give it. DUNSTER.

[14] Ver. 49. *And what the people but a herd confused,*
A miscellaneous rabble, who extol
Things vulgar, &c.

These lines are certainly no proof of a democratic disposition in our author.—DUNSTER.

[15] Ver. 57. *His lot who dares be singularly good.* Dr. Newton conjectures that Milton might here allude to himself, "who dared to be as singular in his opinions and in his conduct as any man whatever." But the language of the poet in this place is perhaps only classical, as it might well have been suggested by Horace, Ep. I. ii. 40:—

> Sapere aude;
> Incipe: vivendi recte qui prorogat horam,
> Rusticus expectat dum defluit amnis.

DUNSTER.

[16] Ver. 59. *And glory scarce of few is raised.* "Gloriam latius fusam intelligo; consensum enim multorum exigit. Quid intersit inter claritatem et gloriam dicam; gloria multorum judiciis constat, claritas bonorum." Senec. Epist. 102.—DUNSTER.

[17] Ver. 60. *This is true glory and renown,* &c. Here is a glory that is solid and substantial, "expressa," as Tully says, "non adumbrata;" and that will endure, when all the records and memorials of human pride are perished.—CALTON.

[18] Ibid.

> *When God,*
> *Looking on the earth, with approbation marks*
> *The just man.*

"Ecce spectaculum dignum, ad quod respiciat intentus operi suo Deus!" Seneca, 'De Providentia,' 2. This celebrated passage of Seneca the amiably affectionate biographer of Milton applies to the principles and the afflictions of our author. Hayley, 'Life of Milton,' p. 225. —DUNSTER.

[19] Ver. 69.

Where glory is false glory, attributed
To things not glorious, men not worthy of fame.

True glory, Tully says, is the praise of good men, the echo of virtue: but that ape of glory, the random injudicious applause of the multitude, is often bestowed upon the worst of actions. 'Tusc. Disp.' iii. 2. When Tully wrote his 'Tusculan Disputations,' Julius Cæsar had overturned the constitution of his country, and was then in the height of his power; and Pompey had lost his life in the same pursuit of glory.—CALTON.

[20] Ver. 71.

They err, who count it glorious to subdue
By conquest far and wide, &c.

Here might be an allusion intended to Louis XIV., who at this time began to disturb Europe; and whose vanity and ambition were gratified by titles, such as are here mentioned, from his numerous parasites. We may here compare 'Paradise Lost,' b. xi. 691, &c. And again, ver. 789, &c. of the same book.—DUNSTER.

[21] Ver. 74. *What do these worthies,*
But rob and spoil, &c.

Thus Drummond, in his 'Shadow of the Judgment:'

All live on earth by spoil:
Who most can ravage, rob, ransack, blaspheme,
Is held most virtuous, hath a worthy's name.

Milton's description of the ravages of conquerors may have been copied from some of the accounts of the barbarous nations that invaded Rome. Ovid describes the Getæ thus spoiling, robbing, slaying, enslaving, and burning, Trist. III. El. X. 55, &c.—DUNSTER.

[22] Ver. 78. *Who leave behind*
Nothing but ruin.

Thus, Joel, ii. 3. "The land is as the garden of Eden

before them, and behind them a desolate wilderness."—DUNSTER.

[23] Ver. 81.

And must be titled gods,
Great benefactors of mankind, deliverers.

The second Antiochus, king of Syria, was called Antiochus Θεὸς, or "the God." The Athenians gave Demetrius Poliorcetes, and his father Antigonus, the titles of Εὐεργέται, *benefactors*; and Σωτῆρες, *deliverers*.—CALTON.

[24] Ver. 84. *One is the son of Jove, of Mars the other.* Alexander is particularly intended by the one, and Romulus by the other; who, though better than Alexander, founded his empire in the blood of his brother, and for his overgrown tyranny was at last destroyed by his own senate.—NEWTON.

[25] Ver. 86. *Rolling in brutish vices, and deform'd.* See 'Comus,' ver. 77. "To roll with pleasure in a sensual stye."

Compare also 'Par. Lost,' b. xi. 516.

Themselves they vilified
To serve ungovern'd appetite; and took
His image whom they served, a brutish vice, &c.
TODD.

[26] Ver. 92. *By patience, temperance.* In allusion to St. Peter's combination, 2 Pet. i. 6. "Add to knowledge temperance, and to temperance patience."—TODD.

[27] Ver. 96. *Poor Socrates,* &c. Milton here does not scruple, with Erasmus, to place Socrates in the foremost rank of saints; an opinion, more amiable at least, and agreeable to that spirit of love which breathes in the Gospel; than the severe orthodoxy of those rigid textuaries, who are unwilling

to allow salvation to the moral virtues of the heathen.—THYER.

[28] Ver. 99. *Equal in fame to proudest conquerours.* Among the various beauties which adorn this truly divine poem, the most distinguishable and captivating feature of excellence is the character of Christ: this is so finely drawn, that we can scarcely forbear applying to it the language of Quintilian, respecting the Olympian Jupiter of the famous sculptor Phidias; "cujus pulchritudo adjecisse aliquid etiam receptæ religioni videatur, adeo majestas operis Deum æquavit." l. xii. c. 10. It is observed by Mr. Hayley, that as in 'Paradise Lost' the poet seems to emulate the sublimity of Moses and the prophets, it appears to have been his wish in the 'Paradise Regained' to copy the sweetness and simplicity of the Evangelists. The great object of this second poem seems indeed to be the exemplification of true evangelical virtue, in the person and sentiments of our blessed Lord. From the beginning of the third book to ver. 363. of the next, practical christianity, thus personified, is contrasted with the boasted pretensions of the heathen world, in its zenith of power, splendour, civilization, and knowledge; the several claims of which are fully stated, with much ornament of language and poetic decoration. After an exordium of flattering commendation addressed to our Lord, the tempter opens his progressive display of heathen excellence with an eulogy on glory (ver. 25.), which is so intrinsically beautiful, that it may be questioned whether any Roman orator or poet ever so eloquently and concisely defended the ambition of heroism: the judgment of the author may also be noticed (ver. 31, &c.) in the selection of his heroes; two of whom, Alexander and Scipio, he has before introduced (b. ii. 166. 199.) as examples of continency and self-denial: in short, the first speech of Satan opens the cause, for which he pleads, with all the art becoming his character. In our Lord's reply, the false glory

of worldly fame is stated with energetic briefness, and is opposed by the true glory of obedience to the divine commands. The usual modes of acquiring glory in the heathen world, and the intolerable vanity and pride with which it was claimed and enjoyed, are next most forcibly depicted; and are finely contrasted with those means of acquiring honour and reputation, which are innocent and beneficial:

> But, if there be in glory aught of good,
> It may by means far different be obtain'd,
> Without ambition, war, or violence;
> By deeds of peace, by wisdom eminent,
> By patience, temperance.

These lines are marked with that peculiar species of beauty, which distinguishes Virgil's description of the amiable heroes of benevolence and peace, whom he places in Elysium, together with his blameless warriors, the virtuous defenders of their country, 'Æn.' vi. 660—665.

In the conclusion of the speech an heroical character of another kind is opposed to the warlike heroes of antiquity; —one who, though a heathen, surpassed them all in true wisdom and true fortitude. Such indeed was the character of Socrates, such his reliance on Divine Providence and his resignation thereto; that he seems to have imbibed his sentiments from a source "above the famed Castalian spring;" and while his demeanour eminently displays the peaceable, patient, christian-like virtues, his language often approaches nearer than could be imagined to that of the holy penmen. The artful sophistry of the tempter's farther defence of glory, and our Lord's majestically plain confutation of his arguments in the clear explanation given of the true ground on which glory and honour are due to the great Creator of all things, and required by him,—are both admirable. The rest of the dialogue is well supported; and it is wound up, with the best effect, in the concluding speech, where Satan offers a vindicatory explanation of his conduct, in which the dignity of the archangel (for, though

"ruined," the Satan of Milton seldom "appears less than an archangel,") is happily combined with the insinuating art and "sleeked tongue" of this grand deceiver. The first nineteen lines are peculiarly illustrative of this double character: the transition that follows to the immediate temptation then going on, and which paves the way for the ensuing change of scene, is managed with the happiest address.—DUNSTER.

[29] Ver. 101.

If young African for fame
His wasted country freed from Punick rage.

This shows plainly that he had spoken before of the elder Scipio Africanus; for he only can be said with propriety to have "freed his wasted country from Punick rage," by transferring the war into Spain and Africa, after the ravages which Hannibal had committed in Italy during the second Punic war.—NEWTON.

[30] Ver. 109. *Think not so slight of glory.* There is nothing throughout the whole poem more expressive of the true character of the tempter than this reply: there is in it all the real falsehood of the father of lies, and the glozing subtlety of an insidious deceiver.—THYER.

[31] Ver. 118. *Promiscuous from all nations.* The poet puts here into the mouth of the devil the absurd notions of the apologists for paganism.—WARBURTON.

[32] Ver. 128. *The slightest, easiest, readiest recompense.* The same sentiment occurs in the 'Paradise Lost,' b. iv. 46:—

> What could be less than to afford him praise,
> The easiest recompense, and pay him thanks?
> How due!

NEWTON.

[33] Ver. 138. *Recreant.* See Spenser, 'Faerie Queen,' ii. vi. 28. "Thou recreant knight," to which Mr. Dunster refers; where Mr. Warton has observed that "recreant knight" is a term of romance. The phrase means not only one who yields himself to his enemy in single combat, but a coward and a traitor.—TODD.

[34] Ver. 151. *Worth or not worth the seeking.* In all the editions which I have seen, except the first, it is printed "Worth or not worth their seeking;" but, not knowing to whom "their" could refer, I imagined it should be "Worth or not worth *thy* seeking:" but the first edition exhibits this reading, "Worth or not worth *the* seeking," as Mr. Sympson proposed to read by conjecture.—NEWTON.

[35] Ver. 158. *Reduced a province under Roman yoke.* Judea was reduced to the form of a Roman province, in the reign of Augustus, by Cyrenius, then governor of Syria. —NEWTON.

[36] Ver. 159. *Nor is always ruled*
With temperate sway.

The Roman government indeed was not always the most temperate: at this time Pontius Pilate was procurator of Judea; and, it appears from history, was a most corrupt and flagitious governor.—NEWTON.

[37] Ver. 160. *Oft have they violated*
The temple, &c.

Pompey, with several of his officers, entered not only into the holy place, but also penetrated into the holy of holies, where none were permitted by the law to enter, except the high-priest alone, once in a year, on the great day of expiation. Antiochus Epiphanes had before been guilty of a similar profanation. See 2 Maccab. ch. v.—NEWTON.

[38] Ver. 165. *So did not Maccabeus*, &c. The tempter had noticed the profanation of the temple by the Romans, as well as that by Antiochus Epiphanes, king of Syria; and now he would infer, that Jesus was to blame for not vindicating his country against the one, as Judas Maccabeus had done against the other.—NEWTON.

[39] Ver. 171. *If kingdom move thee not.* "Kingdom" here, like *regnum* in Latin, signifies kingly state, the circumstances of regal power; or, as our author in his political works writes, kingship.—DUNSTER.

[40] Ver. 173. *But on occasion's forelock watchful wait.* Spenser personifies Occasion, as an old hag, with a gray forelock, 'Faer. Qu.' ii. iv. 4. Spenser likewise, Sonnet 70, gives Time the same forelock. Shakspeare, in his 'Othello,' has "to take the safest occasion by the front." The Greek and Latin poets also describe occasion, i. e. time or opportunity, with a forelock.—DUNSTER.

[41] Ver. 175. *Zeal of thy father's house.* Psalm lxix. 9: "For the zeal of thine house hath eaten me up;" which passage is applied in the New Testament, John ii. 17. to the zeal of our Lord for the honour of his Father's house, when he drove the buyers and sellers out of the temple.—DUNSTER.

[42] Ver. 183.

And time there is for all things, Truth hath said.

Eccles. iii. 1.

[43] Ver. 187. *He, in whose hand all times and seasons roll.* Acts i. 7.

[44] Ver. 189. *Be tried in humble state, and things adverse.* Sil. Ital. iv. 605: "Explorant adversa viros."—DUNSTER.

[45] Ver. 195. *Best reign, who first*
Well hath obey'd.

Here probably the author remembered Cicero:—"Qui bene imperat, paruerit aliquando necesse est; et qui modeste paret, videtur, qui aliquando imperet, dignus esse." De Leg. iii. 2. The same sentiment occurs in Aristotle, 'Polit.' iii. 4. vii. 14; and in Plato, 'De Leg.' vi.—NEWTON.

[46] Ver. 201. *Know'st thou not that my rising is thy fall.* Alluding to the rising and setting of opposite stars. Milton, in the first book of this poem, terms our Lord "our Morning-star, then in his rise."—DUNSTER.

[47] Ver. 206. *For where no hope is left, is left no fear.* Milton here, and in some of the following verses, plainly alludes to part of Satan's fine soliloquy, in the beginning of the fourth book of the 'Paradise Lost:'—

> So farewell, hope; and, with hope, farewell, fear!
> Farewell, remorse! All good to me is lost:
> Evil, be thou my good! THYER.

The reasoning of the tempter, in this passage, closely resembles that of Edgar, in 'King Lear;' one of those tragedies, "though rare," which, in Milton's judgment, "ennobled hath the buskin'd stage."

Edgar thus comments upon his lot:—

> To be worst,
> The lowest, and most dejected thing of fortune,
> Stands still in esperance, lives not in fear:
> The lamentable change is from the best;
> The worst returns to laughter. Welcome, then,
> Thou unsubstantial air, that I embrace!
> The wretch, that thou hast blown unto the worst,
> Owes nothing to thy blasts.

[48] Ver. 217. *From that placid aspect.* Spenser, Shakspeare, and the poets of that time, I believe, uniformly wrote

'aspéct' thus accented on the second syllable; as Milton has likewise always done in his 'Paradise Lost.'—DUNSTER.

[49] Ver. 219. *Would stand between me and thy Father's ire.* Milton, in his Ode 'On the Death of a fair Infant,' has a similar expression, st. x.: "To stand 'twixt us and our deserved smart."—DUNSTER.

In both instances the poet alludes to the Sacred Writings. See Numb. xvi. 48. Psal. cvi. 23. Wisdom of Sol. xviii. 23.—TODD.

[50] Ver. 221. *A kind of shading cool*
Interposition, as a summer's cloud.

In the twenty-fifth chapter of Isaiah, as Mr. Dunster also observes, the prophet, addressing God, terms him "a strength to the poor, a strength to the needy from his distress, a refuge from the storm, a shadow from the heat:" and, in the next verse, the interposition of God is illustrated by the simile which the poet uses: "Thou shalt bring down the noise of strangers, as the heat in a dry place; even the heat with the shadow of a cloud."—TODD.

The whole of this passage, with the appeal to our Saviour's goodness, though meant as artful flattery, is in the highest degree beautiful, affecting, and eloquent. The simile with which it ends is exquisitely poetical.

[51] Ver. 234. *And once a year Jerusalem.* At the feast of the passover. Luke ii. 41.—NEWTON.

[52] Ver. 242. *As he who, seeking asses, found a kingdom.* Saul. See 1 Sam. ix. 20, 21.—NEWTON.

[53] Ver. 244. *But I will bring thee.* The artifice of this turn is sublime.

[54] Ver. 251. *He took.* The poet now quits mere dialogue for that "union of the narrative and dramatic powers," which

Dr. Johnson, speaking of this poem, observes, "must ever be more pleasing than a dialogue without action." The description of the "specular mount," where our Lord is placed to view at once the whole Parthian empire, at the same time that it is truly poetical, is so accurately given, that we are enabled to ascertain the exact part of Mount Taurus, which the poet had in his mind. The geographical scene, from ver. 268 to 292, is delineated with a precision that brings each place immediately before our eyes, and, as Dr. Newton remarks, far surpasses the prospect of the kingdoms of the world from "the mount of vision," in the eleventh book of the 'Paradise Lost.' The military expedition of the Parthians, from ver. 300 to 336, is a picture in the boldest and most masterly style. It is so perfectly unique in its kind; that I know not where in poetry, ancient or modern, to go for any thing materially resembling it. The fifteenth book of Tasso's 'Jerusalem,' &c. (where the two christian knights, who are sent in search of Rinaldo, see a great part of the habitable world, and are shown a numerous camp of their enemies) does not appear to have furnished a single idea to our author, either in his geographical or his military scene.—DUNSTER.

[65] Ver. 253. *It was a mountain*, &c. The part of Mount Taurus which bounds Mesopotamia on the north, we learn from Strabo, was sometimes called simply Mount Taurus, and sometimes the Gordyæan mountains; in the middle of which, nearly above Nisibis, stood Mount Masius: but this mountainous range does not contain the sources either of the Euphrates or Tigris; although from every part of it lesser contributary streams flow into each of these rivers. In the passage cited by Dr. Newton from Strabo, *ῥέουσιν* signifies only that the two rivers flow through, or amongst, these mountains; and not that they spring, or have their sources, in them. That such is here the sense of *ῥέουσιν*, appears from another passage of the same ancient geographer in this part of his work; where, having traced the course of

Mount Taurus eastward to the Euphrates, he speaks of the continuity of these mountains being no farther interrupted than by the course of the river as it flows through the middle of them. Indeed Strabo is very particular in pointing out the original sources of these two rivers. The springs of the Tigris he fixes in the southern side of Mount Niphates, which is considerably north-east of Mount Masius and the Gordyæan mountains; and the prime source of the Euphrates he carries very far north, as Ptolemy had also done; and affirms that the springs of the two rivers are two thousand five hundred stadia, which is above four hundred miles, distant from each other. Possibly there is some error here; as Eustathius (on Dionysius, v. 985.) says they are only one thousand five hundred stadia apart. As the mountains, which constitute the head or northern boundary of Mesopotamia, incline to the south, and are absolutely the most southern part of the whole ancient Taurus, the lower end of Mount Amanus alone excepted; they are justly described by Strabo, *νοτιώτατον*; and why Dr. Newton should give *βορειότατον*, as an hypothetical emendation in a parenthesis, or why Xylander should render the passage "maxime ad septentriones accedens," I do not comprehend. Mount Masius, or any projecting elevation of that ridge, would have been no improper point for viewing a great part of this geographical scene. Milton might therefore, not without reason, be supposed to have followed Strabo as cited by Dr. Newton: and indeed "from his side two rivers flow'd" seems almost an exact translation of *ἐντεῦθεν οἱ ἀμφότεροι ῥέουσιν*, &c. But still, all circumstances considered, I conceive this was not the exact spot which he had selected in his mind for his "specular mount." We must recollect that, at the conclusion of the third book of his 'Paradise Lost,' he makes Satan, in his way to Paradise, alight on the top of Mount Niphates; and, while he is there, it is said that Eden "in his view lay pleasant."

That he fixed upon Mount Niphates in that place for Satan to light upon, and from thence to survey Eden, was

certainly owing to his considering it as the most elevated range of this part of Mount Taurus; and, that it was so, he collected from Strabo; who, having traced the course of the mountain from the Euphrates eastward, or rather north-east; and having described the Gordyæan mountains as being higher than any parts which he had before considered; says, "from thence it rises still higher, and is distinguished by the name of Niphates." The object of the poet, in this part of the 'Paradise Regained,' certainly was to select a point of Mount Taurus inclining to the south-east, but sufficiently central and elevated to command the Caspian sea, Artaxata, and other places specified, that lay directly, or nearly, north. Mount Niphates most particularly suited his purpose, and will, I imagine, be found to agree perfectly with all his descriptions: it may be observed also that it rises immediately above Assyria, which is the first country showed to our Lord. As to what is said, that "from his side two rivers flow'd;" the sources of the Tigris, it is agreed, were in the southern side of this mountain; and several ancient authors have supposed the Euphrates and Tigris to spring from the same source. Sallust affirms this in a fragment preserved by Seneca: "Sallustius, auctor certissimus, asserit Tigrin et Euphratem uno fonte manare in Armenia, qui per diversa euntes longius dividantur, spatio medio relicto multorum millium; quæ tamen terra, quæ ab ipsis ambitur, Mesopotamia dicitur." Boethius likewise, 'Cons. Philosoph.' l. v. says positively,

> Tigris et Euphrates uno se fonte resolvunt;

And Lucan, l. iii. 256:—

> Quaque caput rapido tollit cum Tigride magnus
> Euphrates, quos non diversis fontibus edit
> Persis;

on which passage Grotius observes, that "non diversis" means "parum distantibus;" but adds, "vulgo tamen creditum unum habuisse fontem." It is also observable, that one principal source of the Euphrates, according to Strabo, was in Mount Abus, at no considerable distance

north of Mount Niphates. Neither has the prime source of this river been carried by other geographers so far north as Strabo and Ptolemy have inclined to place it. It may be farther remarked, that the descriptions of the poet in other respects point out Niphates as the "specular mount," in preference to Mount Masius or any point of the Taurus between that mountain and the Euphrates; as in such a station, the verse describing the extent of the Assyrian empire,

As far as Indus east, Euphrates west,

seems highly improper, when the speaker was standing so near the very bank of the last river. Besides, had the spectators of this geographical scene been placed on Mount Masius, or any point of the mountains immediately at the head of Mesopotamia, the plain "at the feet of these mountains" would have been only Mesopotamia. But the poet positively distinguishes between Mesopotamia and his great plain, that lay at the foot of that vast range of Mount Taurus, of which Mount Niphates may be considered as the highest and most central point. The latter he describes "a spacious plain outstretch'd in circuit wide;" while the former he places between its two rivers, and terms it "fair champain with less rivers intervein'd."—DUNSTER.

[46] Ver. 256. *The one winding, the other straight.* Dr. Newton and Mr. Dunster observe, that Strabo describes the Euphrates passing through the country with a winding stream, lib. xi. p. 521; and hence it is called "vagus Euphrates" by Statius, and "flexuosus" by Martianus Capella. With the same accuracy, the Tigris is here termed straight, being described as swift in its course as an arrow: "Unde concitatur, a celeritate Tigris incipit vocari: ita appellant Medi sagittam," Plin. 'Nat. Hist.' lib. vi. c. 27. —TODD.

[47] Ver. 257. *With less rivers intervein'd.* Quintus Curtius, having spoken of the great fertility of the country

between the Euphrates and the Tigris, adds,—"Causa fertilitatis est humor, qui ex utroque amne manat, toto fere solo propter venas aquarum resudante," l. v. c. 1.—DUNSTER.

[58] Ver. 258. *Then meeting join'd their tribute to the sea.* Strabo describes these two rivers, after having encircled Mesopotamia, joining their streams near Babylon, and flowing into the Persian Gulf, l. xi. p. 521.—DUNSTER.

[59] Ver. 259. *Fertile of corn the glebe, of oil, and wine.* See 'Paradise Lost,' b. xii. 18. and Ovid. 'Amor.' II. xvi. 19. Dr. Newton, conceiving this description of the fertility of the country to refer only or principally to Mesopotamia, cites a passage from Dionysius, as copied here by Milton. Quintus Curtius likewise notices the peculiar fertility of the "fair champain" between the two rivers, l. v. 1: and Strabo terms Mesopotamia, "a country abounding in pastures and rich vegetation," l. xvi. p. 747. But the greater part of this "large prospect," at least of those countries which lay east of Mesopotamia as far as India, is well entitled to this description of fertility, either considered figurative or literal; as both ancient and modern accounts combine to show.—DUNSTER.

[60] Ver. 261. *Huge cities and high-tower'd.* So also in the 'Allegro,' v. 117:—"Tower'd cities please us then."—THYER.

[61] Ver. 267. *O'er hill and dale,* &c. Milton, for the most part, is fond of the singular number in combination. —T. WARTON.

[62] Ver. 269. *Here thou behold'st*
Assyria, and her empire's ancient bounds.
The situation of Mount Niphates, it has been already observed, was particularly adapted for this view. The

poet here traces accurately the bounds of the Assyrian empire in its greatest extent; the river Araxes and the Caspian lake to the north; the river Indus to the east; the river Euphrates to the west, and "oft beyond" as far as the Mediterranean; and the Persian bay and the deserts of Arabia to the south.—DUNSTER.

[63] Ver. 274. *Inaccessible.* Solinus describes in a similar manner the most desert parts of Africa. Speaking of the boundaries of the province of Cyrene, he says,—"A tergo barbarorum variæ nationes, et solitudo inaccessa," c. 30.—DUNSTER.

[64] Ibid. *The Arabian drouth.* This figure of speech is equally bold and of fine effect.

I cannot forbear inserting here a citation from a poet of our own country, contemporary with Milton, where a description of the "sandy desert" is given in the same bold style. I cite the passage more at large than is necessary, from an opinion that the whole of it must be acceptable to the reader of taste. It is taken from the 'Address to the Deity,' which concludes the poems of George Sandys, printed in 1638, under the title of 'A Paraphrase on Divine Poems:'—

O, who hath tasted of thy clemency
In greater measure, or more oft than I?
My grateful verse thy goodness shall display,
O thou that went'st alone in all my way,
To where the morning with perfumed wings
From the high mountains of Panchæa springs;
To that new-found-out world, where sober night
Takes from the Antipodes her silent flight;
To those dark seas, where horrid winter reigns,
And binds the stubborn floods in icy chains;
To Libyan wastes, whose thirst no showers assuage,
And where swoln Nilus cools the lion's rage.

Sandys was the translator of Ovid. Part of this volume of poems consists of a 'Paraphrase of the Psalms;' which

Mr. Warton justly terms admirable. There is also a 'Paraphrase of the Book of Job,' in so masterly a style, that it may be well doubted if any poet of the succeeding century has surpassed it in a similar attempt.—DUNSTER.

[65] Ver. 275. *Here Nineveh*, &c. This city was situated on the Tigris; "of length," i. e. of circuit, "within her wall, several days' journey:" according to Diodorus Siculus, lib. ii. its circuit was sixty of our miles; and in Jonah, ii. 3. it is said to be "an exceeding great city of three days' journey," twenty miles being the common computation of a day's journey for a foot-traveller: "built by Ninus old," after whom the city is said to be called "Nineveh; of that first golden monarchy the seat," a capital city of the Assyrian empire, which the poet styles "golden monarchy," probably in allusion to the golden head of the image in Nebuchadnezzar's dream of the four empires; "and seat of Salmanassar," who in the reign of Hezekiah king of Judah carried the ten tribes captive into Assyria seven hundred and twenty-one years before Christ; so that it might now be properly called "a long captivity.—NEWTON.

[66] Ver. 277. *That first golden monarchy.* "Golden" is here generally descriptive of the splendor of monarchy. See 'Paradise Lost,' b. ii. 4. "Golden" might also have a political reference to Milton's apprehensions of the great expenses of monarchy; with respect to which, in justifying his republican principles, he had said that "the trappings of a monarchy would set up an ordinary commonwealth."—DUNSTER.

[67] Ver. 280. *There Babylon*, &c. As Nineveh was situated on the river Tigris, so was Babylon on the Euphrates; "the wonder of all tongues," for it is reckoned among the seven wonders of the world.—NEWTON.

[68] Ver. 284. *Persepolis,*
His city, &c.
The city of Cyrus; if not built by him, yet by him made the capital city of the Persian empire; "and Bactra there," the chief city of Bactriana, a province of Persia, famous for its fruitfulness; mentioned by Virgil, 'Georg.' ii. 136.—NEWTON.

[69] Ver. 286. *Ecbatana her structure vast there shows.* Ancient historians speak of Ecbatana, the metropolis of Media, as a very large city.—NEWTON.

[70] Ver. 288. *Susa by Choaspes.* Susa, the Shushan of the Holy Scriptures, and the royal seat of the kings of Persia, who resided here in the winter and at Ecbatana in the summer, was situated on the river Choaspes, or Eulæus, or Ulai as it is called in Daniel; or rather on the confluence of these two rivers, which meeting at Susa, form one great river, sometimes called by one name, and sometimes by the other.—NEWTON.

[71] Ver. 289. *The drink of none but kings.* If we examine it as an historical problem, whether the kings of Persia alone drank of the river Choaspes, we shall find great reason to determine in the negative. We have for that opinion the silence of many authors, by whom we might have expected to have found it confirmed, had they known of any such custom. Herodotus, Strabo, Tibullus, Ausonius, Maximus Tyrius, Aristides, Plutarch, Pliny the elder, Athenæus, Dionysius Periegetes, and Eustathius, have mentioned Choaspes, or Eulæus, as the drink of the kings of Persia or Parthia, or have called it βασιλικὸν ὕδωρ, *regia lympha,* but have not said that they alone drank of it. I say Choaspes or Eulæus, because some make them the same, and others counted them different rivers. The silence of Herodotus ought to be of great weight, because

he is so particular in his account of the Persian affairs; and, next to his, the silence of Pliny, who had read so many authors, is considerable. Though it can hardly be expected that a negative should be proved any other way than from the silence of writers; yet it so happens, that Ælian, if his authority be admitted, affords us a full proof that the water of Choaspes might be drunk by the subjects of the kings of Persia:—"In the carriages which followed Xerxes, there were abundance of things which served only for pomp and ostentation; there was also the water of Choaspes. The army being oppressed with thirst in a desert place, and the carriages being not yet come up; it was proclaimed that if any one had of the water of Choaspes, he should give it Xerxes to drink. One was found who had a little, and that not sweet. Xerxes drank it, and accounted him who gave it him a benefactor, because he had perished with thirst if that little had not been found," Var. Hist. xii. 40. Mention is made indeed by Agathocles of a certain water, which none but Persian kings might drink; and if any other writers mention it, they take it from Agathocles. We find it in Athenæus:—"Agathocles says that there is in Persia a water called golden; that it consists of seventy streams; that none drink of it except the king and his eldest son, and that if any person does, death is the punishment." It does not however appear, that the "golden water" and "Choaspes" were the same. Eustathius, having transcribed this passage from Agathocles, adds:—"Quære, whether the water of Choaspes, which the Persian king drank in his expeditions, was forbidden to all others under the same penalty," Eustathius in Homer. 'Iliad.' τ. p. 1301. ed. Basil. It may be granted, and it is not at all improbable, that none besides the king might drink of that water of Choaspes, which was boiled and barreled up for his use in his military expeditions. Solinus, indeed, who is a frivolous writer, says,—"Choaspes ita dulcis est, ut Persici reges,

quamdiu intra ripas Persidis fluit, solis sibi ex eo poculu vindicarint." Milton, therefore, considered as a poet, with whose purpose the fabulous suited best, is by no means to be blamed for what he has advanced; as even the authority of Solinus is sufficient to justify him.—JORTIN.

[72] Ver. 290.

Built by Emathian or by Parthian hands, &c.

Cities of later date, "built by Emathian hands," that is, Macedonian; by the successors of Alexander in Asia. "The great Seleucia," built near the river Tigris by Seleucus Nicator, one of Alexander's captains, and called "great," to distinguish it from others of the same name. Nisibis, another city upon the Tigris, called also Antiochia; "Antiochia, quam Nisibin vocant." Plin. vi. 16. Artaxata, the chief city of Armenia, seated upon the river Araxes; "juxta Araxem Artaxate." Plin. vi. 10. Teredon, a city near the Persian bay, below the confluence of Euphrates and Tigris; "Teredon infra confluentem Euphratis et Tigris." Plin. vi. 28. Ctesiphon, near Seleucia, the winter residence of the Parthian kings. Strabo, l. xvi. p. 743.—NEWTON.

[73] Ver. 294. *All these the Parthian*, &c. All these cities, which before belonged to the Seleucidæ or Syro-Macedonian princes, sometimes called "kings of Antioch," from their usual place of residence, were now under the dominion of the Parthians, whose empire was founded by Arsaces, who revolted from Antiochus Theus, according to Prideaux, two hundred and fifty years before Christ. This view of the Parthian empire is much more agreeably and poetically described than Adam's prospect of the kingdoms of the world from the mount of vision in the 'Paradise Lost,' xi. 385—411: but still the anachronism in this is worse than in the other: in the former, Adam is supposed to take a view of cities many years before they were built;

and in the latter, our Saviour beholds cities, as Nineveh, Babylon, &c. in this flourishing condition many years after they were laid in ruins; but it was the design of the former vision to exhibit what was future, it was not the design of the latter to exhibit what was past.—NEWTON.

The immediate object of this temptation was to awaken ambition in our blessed Lord, by showing him "all the kingdoms of the world and the glory of them," that is, the splendour of the great empires that had been, or still were in existence. Whatever anachronism therefore there may be in this place, it is surely not introduced uselessly and unnecessarily, as Dr. Newton insinuates.—DUNSTER.

[74] Ver. 297. *The luxurious kings of Antioch.* No particular luxury seems laid by history to the charge of Antiochus Theus; though it was the profligate conduct of Agathocles, or Andragoras, then governor of Parthia under him, that incited the resentment of Arsaces, and was the cause of the revolt, and finally of the creation of the Parthian empire. See Prideaux, part ii. book 2. Milton had probably here in his mind the descriptions given in history of the luxury and profligacy of Antiochus Epiphanes; whose abandoned conduct and dissipation was such, that instead of Epiphanes, or the Illustrious, which name he had assumed, he was generally known by that of Epimanes, or the Madman. See 'Polyb. apud Athenæum,' l. v.—DUNSTER.

[75] Ver. 298.

And just in time thou comest to have a view
Of his great power, &c.

Milton, considering very probably, that a geographic description of kingdoms, however varied in the manner of expression and diversified with little circumstances, must soon grow tedious, has very judiciously thrown in this digressive picture of an army mustering for an expedition,

which he has executed in a very masterly manner. The same conduct he has observed in the subsequent description of the Roman empire, by introducing into the scene prætors and proconsuls marching out of their provinces with troops, lictors, rods, and other ensigns of power; and ambassadors making their entrance into that imperial city from all parts of the world. There is great art and design in this contrivance of our author; and the more, as there is no appearance of any, so naturally are the parts connected. —THYER.

[76] Ver. 299. *For now the Parthian king*
In Ctesiphon hath gather'd all his host, &c.

Ctesiphon seems to have been the general place of rendezvous of the Parthian army, wherever their destination might be. Strabo says that the Parthian kings, who had before made Seleucia their winter residence, removed to Ctesiphon, because it was larger, and more calculated for considerable military preparations; and because they wished to save the inhabitants of Seleucia from the inconveniences of a numerous army in a place not sufficiently large to receive them.—DUNSTER.

[77] Ver. 302. *To her aid*
He marches now in haste.

In the 'Charon' of Lucian, Mercury, in a similar manner shows, and describes to Charon, Cyrus marching on his expedition against Crœsus.—DUNSTER.

[78] Ver. 305. *Steel bows and shafts their arms.* Catullus terms the Parthians "sagittiferosque Parthos," Ep. xi. and Dionysius distinguished them as "warlike, and armed with bows," Perieg. v. 1040.—DUNSTER.

[79] Ver. 306.
Of equal dread in flight or in pursuit;
All horsemen, in which fight they most excel.

Lucan notices the skill of the Parthians in discharging their arrows at their pursuers, while they fled from them, lib. i. 229. "missa Parthi post terga sagitta." Ovid refers to the same circumstance, 'De Art. Amand.' i. 209, &c. and Virgil speaks of "Fidentemque fuga Parthum," Georg. iii. 39.—DUNSTER.

[80] Ver. 310. *What numbers numberless.* A manner of expression, though much censured in our author, very familiar with the Greek poets. Thus Lucretius, iii. 799. and x. 1053. "Innumero numero." And see Tasso, 'Gier. Lib.' c. xix. 121.—DUNSTER.

[81] Ver. 311. *The city gates out-pour'd.* So, in Virgil, 'Æn.' xii. 121.

> Procedit legio Ausonidum, pilataque plenis
> Agmina se fundunt portis, &c.

DUNSTER.

[82] Ver. 312. *In coats of mail and military pride;*
In mail their horses clad, &c.

Plutarch, in his account of the defeat of Crassus, says that the Parthians, on a sudden throwing off the covering of their armour, seemed all on fire from the glittering brightness of their helmets and breastplates, which were made of Margian steel; and from the brass and iron trappings of their horses.—DUNSTER.

[83] Ver. 315. *Of many provinces from bound to bound.* He had before mentioned the principal cities of the Parthians, and he now recounts several of their provinces. Arachosia, near the river Indus, Strabo, l. xi. p. 516. Candaor, not *Gandaor*, as in some editions; I suppose the Candari, a people of India, mentioned by Pliny, l. vi. sect. 18. These were provinces to the east; and to the north Margiana and Hyrcania, Strabo, l. ii. p. 72; and

Mount Caucasus, and Iberia, which is called "dark," as the country abounded with forests. See Tacitus, Annal. vi. 34.—Newton.

[84] Ver. 317. *The Hyrcanian cliffs*
Of Caucasus, and dark Iberian dales.

Shirvan and Daghestan, or "the country of rocks," are those provinces which Milton calls "the Hyrcanian cliffs of Caucasus," &c.—Sir W. Jones.

[85] Ver. 319.
From Atropatia and the neighbouring plains
Of Adiabene, Media, and the south
Of Susiana, to Balsara's haven.

This description of the Parthian provinces moves nearly in a circle. It begins with Arachosia east; then advances northward to Margiana; and from thence, turning westward, proceeds to Hyrcania, Iberia, and the Atropatian or northern division of Media: here it turns again southward, and carries us to Adiabene, or the western part of Babylonia, which, as Dr. Newton observes, Strabo (l. xvi. p. 745.) describes as a plain country: then, passing through part of Media, it concludes with Susiana, which extended southward to the Persian Gulf, called "Balsara's haven," from the port of Balsera, Bassorah, or Bussorah.—Dunster.

To the west of Pars is the province of Khuzistan, which the Greeks call Susiana; it has no mountain in it, but consists wholly of large plains: it has part of Persian Irák to the north, the gulf to the south; and it extends westward as far as the plains of Wásset and the port of Basra; whence Milton says "the south of Susiana to Balsara's haven." But he makes a considerable mistake, in putting into the mouth of the tempter the name of a city, which was not built till six hundred years after the temptation.—Sir W. Jones.

[86] Ver. 324. *Sharp sleet of arrowy showers.* Mr. Richardson observes that this is not unlike Virgil's

fundunt simul undique tela
Crebra nivis ritu. Æn. ii. 610. DUNSTER.

Gray has imitated this:

Iron sleet of arrowy shower.

[87] Ver. 326. *The field all iron cast a gleaming brown.* Dr. Newton observes that this line greatly exceeds Fairfax's, 'Tasso,' c. i. st. 64.

Embattailed in walls of iron brown;

and even a very fine passage in Virgil, which has certainly much resemblance to the "field all iron," Æn. xi. 601.

tum late ferreus hastis
Horret ager, campique armis sublimibus ardent.

But I have met with a passage more immediately parallel in Euripides, who literally describes his field "all brass," in the 'Phœnissæ,' ver. 298.—DUNSTER.

[88] Ver. 327. *Clouds of foot.* Mr. Dunster observes, that by horsemen Milton meant only skilled in the management of a horse, as every Parthian was; and by no means that they never engaged except on horseback: and by chivalry he means, as I have already remarked, the army in general, like the Italian *cavalleria.* See 'Par. Lost,' b. i. 307.—TODD.

[89] Ver. 328. *Cuirassiers all in steel for standing fight.* Sallust, 'Fragment.' l. iv. speaks of "equites cataphracti ferrea omni specie." Similar to the cataphracts of the Romans were the κλιβανάριοι of the Persians; whom the author of the 'Glossarium Nomicum' describes, ὁλοσίδηροι, "all in steel."—DUNSTER.

[90] Ver. 329. *Elephants indorsed with towers.* Ammianus

Marcellinus speaks of elephants in the Persian army, l. 24. Pliny mentions them bearing towers with sixty soldiers on them, "turriti cum sexagenis propugnatoribus," viii. 7. —DUNSTER.

[91] Ver. 333. *or overlay*
With bridges rivers proud, as with a yoke.
Alluding probably to Æschylus's description of Xerxes's bridge over the Hellespont, 'Persæ,' 71.—THYER.

[92] Ver. 337. *Such forces met not, nor so wide a camp,*
When Agrican with all his northern powers
Besieged Albracca, &c.
What Milton here alludes to, is related in Boiardo's 'Orlando Inamorato,' l. i. c. 10.—THYER.

[93] Ver. 341. *The fairest of her sex Angelica.* This is that Angelica, who afterwards made her appearance in the same character in Ariosto's 'Orlando Furioso,' which was intended as a continuation of the story which Boiardo had begun. As Milton fetches his simile from a romance, he adopts the terms used by these writers, viz. "prowest" and "Paynim."—THYER.
"Prowest" is the superlative of "prow," from the old French *preux*, "valiant."—DUNSTER.

[94] Ver. 346. *Thus his words renew'd.* The speech of Satan, (ver. 346.) professing the purpose why he showed all this to Jesus, judiciously reverts to the immediate subject of the temptation; and, by urging our Lord to avail himself of the Parthian power, that he might gain possession of David's throne, and free his countrymen from the Roman yoke, it applies to those patriotic feelings which he had expressed in the first book of this poem, where he declares that one of his earliest sentiments of virtue, "more than human," was marked with a wish "to rescue Israel

from the Roman yoke." Our Lord's reply is close and pointed, and serves farther to unfold the character of our great pattern of every virtue.—DUNSTER.

[95] Ver. 366. *And captive lead away her kings,*
Antigonus and old Hyrcanus, bound.

Here seems to be a slip of memory in our author. The Parthians, indeed, led Hyrcanus away captive to Seleucia, after his eyes were put out, and when he was past seventy years of age, so that he might well be called "old Hyrcanus;" but instead of leading away Antigonus captive, they constituted him king of the Jews, and he was afterwards deprived of his kingdom by the Romans. See Josephus, 'Antiq.' lib. xiv. cap. 13. 'De Bell. Jud.' lib. i. cap. 13. But it should be considered that Milton himself was old and blind; and composing from memory, he might fall into such a mistake, which may be pardoned among so many excellences.—NEWTON.

Dr. Newton's observation on the mistake of our "old blind" poet, is here rather unfortunate; as he himself, with his eyes open, seems to have fallen into a considerable mistake in this note, by describing Hyrcanus as having his eyes put out, which does not appear to have been the case. His ears were cut off by his rival Antigonus, (see Joseph. 'Antiq. Jud.' xiv. 13.) to render him incapable, when maimed in person, of filling the office of high priest; but (l. xv. c. 6. sect. 14. where the various misfortunes that befel Hyrcanus are particularly recited) nothing is said of his eyes being put out.—DUNSTER.

[96] Ver. 374.

Those ten tribes,
Whose offspring in his territory yet serve,
In Habor, and among the Medes dispersed.

These were the ten tribes, whom Shalmaneser, king of Assyria, carried captive into Assyria, 2 Kings, xviii. 11;

which cities were now under the dominion of the Parthians.—NEWTON.

[97] Ver. 377. *Ten sons of Jacob, two of Joseph.* The ten captive tribes of the Israelites were those of Reuben, Simeon, Zebulon, Issachar, Dan, Gad, Asher, Naphtali, Ephraim, and Manasses. Only eight of these were sons of Jacob; the two others were the sons of Joseph. I would suppose therefore that the poet meant to give it,

Eight sons of Jacob, two of Joseph lost.

Otherwise he must have included, in the ten sons of Jacob, both Levi and Joseph. The Levites, it is true, did not form a distinct tribe, nor had any possessions allotted them; but, being carried into captivity with the other tribes, amongst whom they were scattered, Levi might be referred to among the lost sons of Jacob. It seems, however, quite incorrect to refer to Joseph as the head of a tribe, when he was really merged in the tribes of his two sons, Ephraim and Manasses.—DUNSTER.

[98] Ver. 384. *From Egypt to Euphrates.* That is, the kingdom of Israel in its utmost extent; for thus the land was promised to Abraham, Gen. xv. 18.; and the extent of Solomon's kingdom is thus described, 1 Kings, iv. 21.—NEWTON.

[99] Ver. 387. *Much ostentation vain of fleshly arm.* "Fleshly arm" is scriptural:—2 Chron. xxxii. 8. and see Jer. xvii. 5.—DUNSTER.

[100] Ver. 388. *Much instrument of war,*
Long in preparing.

"Totius belli instrumento et apparatu," Ciceron. Academic. ii. 1.—DUNSTER.

[101] Ver. 394. *Prediction else*
Will unpredict.

This refers to what the tempter had said before, ver. 354, where he had fallaciously applied the argument, that the requisite reliance on divine Providence does not by any means countenance a supine negligence, and a dereliction of all personal exertions. Mr. Thyer censures the manner of speaking here, as too light and familiar for the dignity of the speaker; but it strikes me as censurable, not so much for the lightness as for the quaintness of the expression, and somewhat of that jingling play upon words, of which our author was certainly too fond. To "unpredict" is something like to "uncreate." See 'Par. Lost,' b. v. 895. and b. ix. 943.—DUNSTER.

[102] Ver. 396. *My time*, &c. John vii. 6.

[103] Ver. 401. *Argument*
Of human weakness rather than of strength.
It is a proof of human weakness, as it shows that man is obliged to depend upon something extrinsical to himself, whether he would attack his enemy or defend himself. It alludes to the common observation, that nature has furnished all creatures with weapons of defence, except man. See Anacreon's Ode on this thought.—THYER.

[104] Ver. 409. *When thou stood'st up his tempter*, &c. Alluding to 1 Chron. xxi. 1. "And Satan stood up against Israel, and provoked David to number Israel." Milton, we see, considers it not as the advice of any evil counsellor, as some understand the word Satan; but as the suggestion of the first author of evil: and he expresses it very properly by "the pride of numbering Israel;" for the best commentators suppose the nature of David's offence to consist in pride and vanity, in making flesh his arm, and confiding in the number of his people.—NEWTON.

[105] Ver. 414. *As for those captive tribes*, &c. The cap-

tivity of the ten tribes was a punishment owing to their own idolatry and wickedness. See 2 Kings, xvii. and the prophets in several places.—NEWTON.

[106] Ver. 428.

Who, freed, as to their ancient patrimony,
Unhumbled, unrepentant, unreform'd,
Headlong would follow; and to their gods perhaps
Of Bethel and of Dan?

There is some difficulty and obscurity in this passage; and several conjectures and emendations have been offered to clear it; but none, I think, entirely to satisfaction. Mr. Sympson would read "Headlong would fall off, and," &c. or "Headlong would fall," &c. but Mr. Calton seems to come nearer the poet's meaning. Whom or what would they follow? says he. There wants an accusative case; and what must be understood to complete the sense can never be accounted for by an ellipsis, that any rules or use of language will justify. He therefore suspects by some accident a whole line may have been lost; and proposes one, which he says may serve at least for a commentary to explain the sense, if it cannot be allowed for an emendation:

Their fathers in their old iniquities
Headlong would follow, &c.

Or is not the construction thus;—"Headlong would follow as to their ancient patrimony, and to their gods perhaps," &c.—NEWTON.

There is somewhat of obscurity here, it must be allowed; but I conceive our author to have many passages that are more implicate. The sense seems to be this: "Who, if they were freed from that captivity, which was inflicted on them as a punishment for their disobedience, idolatry, and other vices, would return to take possession of their country, as something to which they were justly entitled, and of which they had been long unjustly deprived; without

showing the least sense either of their former abandoned conduct, or of God's goodness in pardoning and restoring them. This change in their situation would produce none whatever in their conduct; but they would retain the same hardened hearts, and the same wicked dispositions as before, and most probably would betake themselves to their old idolatries and other abominations." The expression "*headlong would follow*" seems allusive to brute animals hurrying in a gregarious manner to any new and better pasture; and "headlong" might be particularly suggested by Sallust's description of irrational animals, "pecora, quæ natura prona, atque ventri obedientia finxit." If a correction of the text be thought necessary, I should prefer,

> Who, freed as to their ancient patrimony,
> Unhumbled, unrepentant, unreform'd.
> Headlong would fall unto their gods, perhaps
> Of Bethel and of Dan———

in recommendation of which it may be observed, that "fall to idols" is Miltonic; as it is said of Solomon, 'Paradise Lost,' b. i. 444. that his heart,

> Beguiled by fair idolatresses, fell
> To idols foul. DUNSTER.

Is there not some distant allusion here to the effect of the restoration of Charles II., whom and whose followers their misfortunes had not taught virtue and humility?

[107] Ver. 431. *No; let them serve*
Their enemies, &c.

"Like as ye have forsaken me, and served strange gods in your land, so shall ye serve strangers in a land that is not yours," Jer. v. 19.—DUNSTER.

[108] Ver. 436.
And at their passing cleave the Assyrian flood, &c.

There are several prophecies of the restoration of Israel; but in saying that the Lord would "cleave the Assyrian flood,"

that is, the river Euphrates, at their return from Assyria, as he cleft the Red Sea and the river Jordan at their coming from Egypt, the poet seems particularly to allude to Rev. xvi. 12. and to Isa. xi. 15, 16.—NEWTON.

[109] Ver. 441. *And to the fiend*
Made answer meet, that made void all his wiles.
We may compare the passage of Vida, where Satan, in his speech to the devils in Pandæmonium, relates how he had been foiled in the temptation of our blessed Lord, 'Christiad.' i. 198.—DUNSTER.

So in G. Fletcher's 'Christ's Victory,' the sorceress is thus foiled in the temptation of our Lord:—

But he her charms dispersed into wind,
And her of insolence admonish'd. TODD.

[110] Ver. 443.
So fares it, when with truth falsehood contends.
The same objection still lies against the conclusion of this book, as against that of the preceding one;—by coming immediately after a part so highly finished, as the view of the Parthian power in all the splendour of a military expedition, it has not the effect it would otherwise have. It is, however, a necessary conclusion, and one that materially carries on the business of the poem. An essential test of its merit is, that however we might wish it shortened, it would scarcely have been possible to compress the matter it contains.—DUNSTER.

PARADISE REGAINED.

BOOK IV.

INTRODUCTORY REMARKS.

DUNSTER observes, that great poems have generally fallen off, and grown languid, at the close; but that this is not the case with the 'Paradise Regained.' The greater part of this fourth book is still dialogue and argument; first in favour of the military power and splendid trophies of Rome; then of the intellectual eminence and spiritual charms of Athens: but it is accompanied by more of action; as the storm in the wilderness raised by Satan, which is one of the grandest descriptions in all poetry; and the carrying off our Saviour by force to the temple of Jerusalem, and placing him on the top of a pinnacle. This is the last trial, and here Satan gives himself up as completely overcome.

The dialogues are always supported with surprising knowledge and power on both sides, though of course with an overcoming superiority on the part of Christ. The reasonings or the pleadings on the part of Satan are often so plausible, that the reader is kept on the anxious stretch how they are to be answered; and feels an electric glow at the unexpected force with which the ready answer is supplied. This never allows these argumentative parts to languish, but

keeps the mind in full exercise and constant emotion. It is true, that the learning is so immense, that few can, in the perusal, follow the allusions; but the epithets are so picturesque or striking, that they rouse the mind with a general and strong, though indefinable activity and pleasure: we feel a master-spirit instructing and overawing us, and we believe: we do not take it as the flourish of rhetoric, but acknowledge its sincerity and predominance of thought. A divine intelligence is enlightening us, on the grandeur of creation, on the mysteries of our being, and on the purposes, vanities, and delusions of this terrestrial world.

Perhaps it may be urged, that this may be useful doctrine, but not poetry. Poetry must represent truths through the medium of imagination. Are not Rome and Athens so delineated by Milton, that we have both lively imagery and accurate comments? We are taught to view them in their proper and undisguised characters.

Speaking of the wise men of Athens, and their different sects, the heathen philosophers, Milton says,

> who therefore seeks in these
> True wisdom, finds her not; or, by delusion,
> Far worse, her false resemblance only meets,
> An empty cloud. However, many books,
> Wise men have said, are wearisome: who reads
> Incessantly, and to his reading brings not
> A spirit and judgement equal or superiour,
> (And what he brings what needs he elsewhere seek?)
> Uncertain and unsettled still remains,
> Deep versed in books, and shallow in himself;
> Crude or intoxicate, collecting toys
> And trifles for choice matters, worth a sponge;
> As children gathering pebbles on the shore.

The praise of such a passage as this would be like an attempt to gild the sunbeam.

When Satan was thus silenced, in his attempt to seduce our Saviour by the splendours of Athenian literature, there follows, at verse 368, an outburst of tremendous force, beginning,

> Since neither wealth nor honour, arms nor arts,

and continuing for twenty-five lines.

Satan, in a rage at his defeat, thus resorts to threats:—

> So saying, he took, (for still he knew his power
> Not yet expired) and to the wilderness
> Brought back the Son of God, and left him there,
> Feigning to disappear. Darkness now rose, &c.

Then follows the frightful storm, when "either tropic began thunder, and both ends of heaven;" and the "winds rush'd abroad from the four hinges of the world." This is followed by a bright morning, which, Joseph Warton says, "exhibits some of the finest lines which Milton has written in all his poems." Yet perhaps the storm is still finer: the contrast between the two is enchanting and most glorious. This intermixture of the intellectual, the speculative, and the descriptive, makes the perfect charm, that renders poetry divine.

Man is nothing, but as his mind operates upon matter; and matter is nothing, but as it is associated in its effects upon mind. Mere description is but imperfect poetry: but the spell is not confined to what is said and thought; much depends upon the character whence it comes. Every word assigned by Milton to Satan belongs to his proper character: thus his outlet of ungovernable anger at being confuted, and his consequent threats and evil prophecies, succeed to his winning and profuse flatteries. The sudden turn is conceived and expressed with that power of imagination and sagacity which fills us with admiration. Satan seems to say in a taunt;—"You refuse all my splendid offers;

but I dare to hope that you can so little finally resist them, that I will now impose upon you the condition of falling down to worship me, or I will leave you to your fate." Thus the arch-fiend in his passion defeated himself at once: he now has recourse to bodily violence; and there also is finally foiled, and is obliged to leave the field, and give up the attempt, conquered and abased.

Thus the poet rises to the last: then break forth the hymns and songs of angels and archangels, to celebrate the victory of our Saviour; and thus the poem concludes. I do not think that it would have been advisable to carry this subject farther: it is a perfect whole in itself. Our Saviour's death and resurrection might have formed the subject of another poem.

It always seems to me injudicious to attempt to weigh the comparative excellence of two compositions of a different nature. Certainly, the 'Paradise Regained' does not allow scope for so much inventive imagination as the 'Paradise Lost.' Adam and Eve were human beings, and of them the holiest poet may create a thousand visions; but of Christ his contemplations are more controlled by awe.

As one of the most marked qualities of this poem is its extraordinary plainness of style, which many have deemed to be too prosaic; it is the more necessary to set this subject in its true light. This plainness is the result of the loftiness of the theme, and of the thoughts and images of which it consists: these support themselves, and require not to be elevated by language: the simplest words do best, provided they are not vulgar. Perhaps no one else would have undertaken so grand a topic; and if any one had, he would have failed: he would have failed by false effort, and extravagant bigness of phrase.

Still it is probable, that one of the causes why this poem

has not been as popular as it ought, is this very plainness. The world cannot be brought to think that there is poetry where there is not gaudy language: and I am afraid that almost all secondary poets think the same; and are not misled merely by a desire to conform to the bad models which they observe to be the common taste.

Whoever is endowed with a particular power, will follow that power; he will not be restrained by attempting what he cannot do, and neglecting what he can: but this is only true of power which is quite original and decided; it is not true of any faculties which are feeble or imitative: even in the first case, the proposition is not without exceptions; there may be a meek and timid heart, with a great genius.

Bad critics, the advocates and defenders of that bad judgment in literature which the multitude are so apt to indulge, do sometimes nip genius in the bud, and warm nauseous and hurtful fruit into birth and maturity: it is of essential service therefore to give to excellence its due praise, and to endeavour to impress the people with those extraordinary merits to which they have been hitherto blind.

The mass of mankind cannot easily be brought to believe that one man has been born with gifts so preeminent over others: they suspect therefore the worth of that superiority which is claimed for him. Dryden and Pope did not follow a different track from Milton in obedience to the public taste, but in obedience to the nature of their own inborn faculties: neither in fable, thought, nor style, could they have ever followed Milton.

Of almost all poets but Milton, it may be said, as he himself says of the Athenians,—

> Remove their swelling epithets, thick laid
> As varnish on a harlot's cheek, the rest,
> Thin sown with aught of profit or delight,

will be found bare and fruitless; at least, it will seem so,

when we compare it with the celestial feast of the mighty author of 'Paradise Lost' and 'Paradise Regained.' With him we rise to the stern simplicity of inspired wisdom: he leaves us in no state of factitious heat, to fall again, like Icarus, after having mounted on false wings: we find breathed into us a calm fortitude; we expect sorrows, and wrongs, and dangers, and are prepared for them; we covet no inebriate visions, and thus expose ourselves to no blights on a diseased susceptibility. The elevation is sublime; yet by its sublimity gives us mastery to grapple with earth.

ARGUMENT OF BOOK IV.

SATAN, persisting in the temptation of our Lord, shows him Imperial Rome in its greatest pomp and splendour, as a power which he probably would prefer before that of the Parthians; and tells him that he might with the greatest ease expel Tiberius, restore the Romans to their liberty, and make himself master not only of the Roman empire, but, by so doing, of the whole world, and inclusively of the throne of David. Our Lord, in reply, expresses his contempt of grandeur and worldly power; notices the luxury, vanity, and profligacy of the Romans, declaring how little they merited to be restored to that liberty, which they had lost by their misconduct; and briefly refers to the greatness of his own future kingdom. Satan, now desperate, to enhance the value of his proffered gifts, professes that the only terms, on which he will bestow them, are our Saviour's falling down and worshiping him. Our Lord expresses a firm but temperate indignation at such a proposition, and rebukes the tempter by the title of "Satan for ever damn'd." Satan, abashed, attempts to justify himself: he then assumes a new ground of temptation; and, proposing to Jesus the intellectual gratifications of wisdom and knowledge, points out to him the celebrated seat of ancient learning, Athens, its schools, and other various resorts of learned teachers and their disciples; accompanying the view with a highly finished panegyric on the Grecian

musicians, poets, orators, and philosophers of the different sects. Jesus replies, by showing the vanity and insufficiency of the boasted heathen philosophy; and prefers to the music, poetry, eloquence, and didactic policy of the Greeks, those of the inspired Hebrew writers. Satan, irritated at the failure of all his attempts, upbraids the indiscretion of our Saviour in rejecting his offers; and, having, in ridicule of his expected kingdom, foretold the sufferings that our Lord was to undergo, carries him back into the wilderness, and leaves him there. Night comes on: Satan raises a tremendous storm, and attempts farther to alarm Jesus with frightful dreams, and terrific threatening spectres; which however have no effect upon him. A calm, bright, beautiful morning succeeds to the horrors of the night. Satan again presents himself to our blessed Lord; and, from noticing the storm of the preceding night as pointed chiefly at him, takes occasion once more to insult him with an account of the sufferings which he was certainly to undergo. This only draws from our Lord a brief rebuke. Satan, now at the highth of his desperation, confesses that he had frequently watched Jesus from his birth, purposely to discover if he was the true Messiah; and, collecting from what passed at the river Jordan that he most probably was so, he had from that time more assiduously followed him, in hopes of gaining some advantage over him, which would most effectually prove that he was not really that Divine Person destined to be his "fatal enemy." In this he acknowledges that he has hitherto completely failed; but still determines to make one more trial of him. Accordingly, he conveys him to the temple at Jerusalem; and, placing him on a pointed eminence, requires him to prove his divinity either by standing there, or casting himself down with safety. Our Lord reproves the tempter, and at the same

time manifests his own divinity by standing on this dangerous point. Satan, amazed and terrified, instantly falls; and repairs to his infernal compeers, to relate the bad success of his enterprise. Angels, in the mean time, convey our blessed Lord to a beautiful valley; and, while they minister to him a repast of celestial food, celebrate his victory in a triumphant hymn.

PARADISE REGAINED.

BOOK IV.

Perplex'd and troubled at his bad success
The tempter stood, nor had what to reply,
Discover'd in his fraud, thrown from his hope
So oft, and the persuasive rhetorick
That sleek'd his tongue,[1] and won so much on Eve,
So little here, nay, lost: but Eve was Eve;
This far his over-match, who, self-deceived
And rash, beforehand had no better weigh'd
The strength he was to cope with, or his own:
But as a man,[2] who had been matchless held
In cunning, over-reach'd where least he thought,
To salve his credit, and for very spite,
Still will be tempting him who foils him still,
And never cease, though to his shame the more;
Or as a swarm of flies[3] in vintage time,
About the wine-press where sweet moust is pour'd,
Beat off, returns as oft with humming sound;

Or surging waves against a solid rock,
Though all to shivers dash'd, the assault renew,[4]
(Vain battery!) and in froth or bubbles end;
So Satan, whom repulse upon repulse
Met ever, and to shameful silence brought,
Yet gives not o'er, though desperate of success,
And his vain importunity pursues.
He brought our Saviour to the western side
Of that high mountain, whence he might behold
Another plain,[5] long, but in breadth not wide,
Wash'd by the southern sea; and, on the north,
To equal length back'd with a ridge of hills,
That screen'd the fruits of the earth, and seats of men,
From cold Septentrion blasts; thence in the midst
Divided by a river, of whose banks
On each side an imperial city stood,
With towers and temples proudly elevate[6]
On seven small hills,[7] with palaces adorn'd,
Porches, and theatres, baths, aqueducts,
Statues, and trophies, and triumphal arcs,[8]
Gardens, and groves,[9] presented to his eyes,
Above the highth of mountains interposed:
(By what strange parallax, or optick skill
Of vision, multiplied through air, or glass
Of telescope,[10] were curious to inquire)
And now the tempter thus his silence broke:—
The city, which thou seest, no other deem
Than great and glorious Rome, queen of the earth,[11]
So far renown'd, and with the spoils enrich'd
Of nations:[12] there the Capitol thou seest,

Above the rest lifting his stately head
On the Tarpeian rock, her citadel
Impregnable; and there Mount Palatine,
The imperial palace, compass huge, and high
The structure, skill of noblest architects,[13]
With gilded battlements conspicuous far,
Turrets, and terraces,[14] and glittering spires:
Many a fair edifice besides, more like
Houses of gods, (so well I have disposed
My aery microscope) thou mayst behold,
Outside and inside both,[15] pillars and roofs,
Carved work, the hand of famed artificers,
In cedar, marble, ivory, or gold.
Thence to the gates cast round thine eye, and see
What conflux issuing forth, or entering in;
Prætors, proconsuls to their provinces
Hasting, or on return, in robes of state,[16]
Lictors and rods, the ensigns of their power,
Legions and cohorts, turms[17] of horse and wings:
Or embassies from regions far remote,
In various habits, on the Appian road,
Or on the Emilian:[18] some from farthest south,
Syene,[19] and where the shadow both way falls,
Meroe, Nilotick isle; and, more to west,
The realm of Bocchus to the Black-moor sea;
From the Asian kings, and Parthian among these;[20]
From India and the golden Chersonese,
And utmost Indian isle Taprobane,
Dusk faces with white silken turbans wreathed;[21]
From Gallia, Gades,[22] and the British west;
Germans, and Scythians, and Sarmatians, north

Beyond Danubius to the Taurick pool.[23]
All nations now to Rome obedience pay;
To Rome's great emperour, whose wide domain,
In ample territory, wealth, and power,
Civility of manners, arts, and arms,
And long renown, thou justly mayst prefer
Before the Parthian.[24] These two thrones except,
The rest are barbarous, and scarce worth the sight,
Shared among petty kings too far removed.
These having shown thee, I have shown thee all
The kingdoms of the world, and all their glory.[25]
This emperour[26] hath no son, and now is old,
Old and lascivious, and from Rome retired
To Capreæ, an island small, but strong,
On the Campanian shore; with purpose there
His horrid lusts in private to enjoy;
Committing to a wicked favourite[27]
All publick cares, and yet of him suspicious;
Hated of all, and hating. With what ease,
Endued with regal virtues, as thou art,
Appearing, and beginning noble deeds,
Mightst thou expel this monster[28] from his throne,
Now made a stye; and, in his place ascending,
A victor people free from servile yoke!
And with my help thou mayst; to me the power
Is given, and by that right I give it thee.[29]
Aim therefore at no less than all the world;
Aim at the highest: without the highest attain'd,
Will be for thee no sitting, or not long,
On David's throne, be prophesied what will.

To whom the Son of God, unmoved, replied:—
Nor doth this grandeur and majestick show

Of luxury, though call'd magnificence,
More than of arms before, allure mine eye,
Much less my mind; though thou shouldst add to tell
Their sumptuous gluttonies, and gorgeous feasts[30]
On citron tables or Atlantick stone,[31]
(For I have also heard, perhaps have read)
Their wines of Setia, Cales, and Falerne,
Chios, and Crete,[32] and how they quaff in gold,
Crystal, and myrrhine cups, emboss'd with gems
And studs of pearl;[33] to me shouldst tell, who thirst
And hunger still. Then embassies thou show'st
From nations far and nigh: what honour that,
But tedious waste of time, to sit and hear
So many hollow compliments and lies,
Outlandish flatteries?[34] Then proceed'st to talk
Of the emperour, how easily subdued,
How gloriously: I shall, thou say'st, expel
A brutish monster: what if I withal
Expel a devil who first made him such?
Let his tormentor conscience find him out;[35]
For him I was not sent, nor yet to free
That people, victor once, now vile and base;[36]
Deservedly made vassal; who, once just,
Frugal, and mild, and temperate, conquer'd well;
But govern ill the nations under yoke,
Peeling their provinces, exhausted all
By lust and rapine; first ambitious grown
Of triumph, that insulting vanity;
Then cruel, by their sports to blood inured[37]
Of fighting beasts, and men to beasts exposed;[38]

Luxurious by their wealth, and greedier still;
And from the daily scene effeminate.
What wise and valiant man would seek to free
These, thus degenerate, by themselves enslaved?
Or could of inward slaves make outward free?[39]
Know, therefore, when my season comes to sit
On David's throne,[40] it shall be like a tree
Spreading and overshadowing all the earth;
Or as a stone, that shall to pieces dash
All monarchies besides throughout the world;
And of my kingdom there shall be no end:
Means there shall be to this; but what the means,
Is not for thee to know, nor me to tell.

To whom the tempter, impudent, replied:
I see all offers made by me how slight
Thou valuest, because offer'd, and reject'st:
Nothing will please the difficult and nice,
Or nothing more than still to contradict:
On the other side, know also thou, that I
On what I offer set as high esteem,
Nor what I part with mean to give for naught:
All these, which in a moment thou behold'st,
The kingdoms of the world, to thee I give,
(For, given to me, I give to whom I please)
No trifle; yet with this reserve, not else,
On this condition; if thou wilt fall down,
And worship me as thy superiour lord,[41]
(Easily done) and hold them all of me;
For what can less so great a gift deserve?

Whom thus our Saviour answer'd with disdain:
I never liked thy talk, thy offers less;
Now both abhor, since thou hast dared to utter

The abominable terms, impious condition:
But I endure the time, till which expired
Thou hast permission on me. It is written,
The first of all commandments, Thou shalt worship
The Lord thy God, and only him shalt serve;
And darest thou to the Son of God propound
To worship thee accursed? now more accursed
For this attempt, bolder than that on Eve,
And more blasphemous; which expect to rue.
The kingdoms of the world to thee were given?
Permitted rather, and by thee usurp'd;
Other donation none thou canst produce.
If given, by whom but by the King of kings,
God over all supreme?[42] If given to thee,
By thee how fairly is the Giver now
Repaid! But gratitude in thee is lost
Long since.[43] Wert thou so void of fear or shame,
As offer them to me, the Son of God?
To me my own, on such abhorred pact,
That I fall down and worship thee as God?
Get thee behind me; plain thou now appear'st
That evil one,[44] Satan for ever damn'd.

To whom the fiend, with fear abash'd, replied:
Be not so sore offended, Son of God,
Though sons of God both angels are and men,
If I, to try whether in higher sort
Than these thou bear'st that title, have proposed
What both from men and angels I receive,
Tetrarchs of fire, air, flood, and on the earth,
Nations besides from all the quarter'd winds,
God of this world invoked,[45] and world beneath:

Who then thou art, whose coming is foretold
To me most fatal, me it most concerns:
The trial hath indamaged thee no way,
Rather more honour left, and more esteem;
Me naught advantaged, missing what I aim'd.
Therefore let pass, as they are transitory,
The kingdoms of this world; I shall no more
Advise thee; gain them as thou canst, or not:
And thou thyself seem'st otherwise inclined
Than to a worldly crown; addicted more
To contemplation and profound dispute;
As by that early action may be judged,
When, slipping from thy mother's eye, thou went'st
Alone into the temple; there wast found
Among the gravest rabbies, disputant
On points and questions fitting Moses' chair,[46]
Teaching, not taught. The childhood shows the man,
As morning shows the day: be famous then
By wisdom;[47] as thy empire must extend,
So let extend thy mind o'er all the world
In knowledge, all things in it comprehend.
All knowledge is not couch'd in Moses' law,
The Pentateuch, or what the prophets wrote:
The Gentiles also know, and write, and teach
To admiration, led by Nature's light,
And with the Gentiles much thou must converse,
Ruling them by persuasion, as thou mean'st.[48]
Without their learning, how wilt thou with them,
Or they with thee, hold conversation meet?
How wilt thou reason with them, how refute

Their idolisms,[49] traditions, paradoxes?
Errour by his own arms is best evinced.[50]
Look once more, ere we leave this specular mount,
Westward, much nearer by south-west,[51] behold;
Where on the Ægean shore a city stands,[52]
Built nobly;[53] pure the air, and light the soil;
Athens, the eye of Greece,[54] mother of arts
And eloquence,[55] native to famous wits
Or hospitable,[56] in her sweet recess,
City or suburban, studious walks and shades.
See there the olive grove of Academe,[57]
Plato's retirement,[58] where the Attick bird[59]
Trills her thick-warbled notes the summer long;[60]
There flowery hill Hymettus,[61] with the sound
Of bees' industrious murmur, oft invites
To studious musing; there Ilissus[62] rolls
His whispering stream: within the walls then view
The schools of ancient sages; his, who bred
Great Alexander to subdue the world,[63]
Lyceum there,[64] and painted Stoa[65] next:
There shalt thou hear and learn the secret power
Of harmony, in tones and numbers hit
By voice or hand; and various-measured verse,
Æolian charms[66] and Dorian lyrick odes,
And his[67] who gave them breath, but higher sung,
Blind Melesigenes, thence Homer call'd,[68]
Whose poem Phœbus challenged for his own:[69]
Thence what the lofty grave tragedians[70] taught
In chorus or iambick,[71] teachers best
Of moral prudence, with delight received
In brief sententious precepts,[72] while they treat
Of fate, and chance, and change in human life,[73]

High actions and high passions best describing:[74]
Thence to the famous orators[75] repair,
Those ancient,[76] whose resistless eloquence
Wielded at will that fierce democratie,
Shook the arsenal, and fulmined over Greece[77]
To Macedon and Artaxerxes' throne:[78]
To sage Philosophy next lend thine ear,
From Heaven descended to the low-roof'd house
Of Socrates;[79] see there his tenement,
Whom well inspired the oracle pronounced
Wisest of men; from whose mouth issued forth
Mellifluous streams, that water'd all the schools
Of Academicks[80] old and new,[81] with those
Surnamed Peripateticks, and the sect
Epicurean, and the Stoick severe.
These here revolve, or, as thou likest, at home,
Till time mature thee to a kingdom's weight:
These rules[82] will render thee a king complete
Within thyself, much more with empire join'd.
To whom[83] our Saviour sagely thus replied:
Think not but that I know these things, or think
I know them not; not therefore am I short
Of knowing what I ought: he, who receives
Light from above, from the fountain of light,
No other doctrine needs, though granted true;[84]
But these are false, or little else but dreams,
Conjectures, fancies, built on nothing firm.
The first and wisest of them all profess'd
To know this only, that he nothing knew;[85]
The next to fabling fell, and smooth conceits;[86]
A third sort doubted all things, though plain sense:[87]

Others in virtue placed felicity,
But virtue join'd with riches and long life;[88]
In corporal pleasure he, and careless ease:[89]
The Stoick last[90] in philosophick pride,
By him call'd virtue; and his virtuous man,
Wise, perfect in himself, and all possessing
Equal to God,[91] oft shames not to prefer,
As fearing God nor man, contemning all
Wealth, pleasure, pain or torment, death and life,
Which, when he lists, he leaves, or boasts he can,
For all his tedious talk is but vain boast,
Or subtle shifts[92] conviction to evade.
Alas! what can they teach, and not mislead,
Ignorant of themselves, of God much more,
And how the world began, and how man fell
Degraded by himself, on grace depending?[93]
Much of the soul they talk, but all awry,[94]
And in themselves seek virtue, and to themselves
All glory arrogate, to God give none;[95]
Rather accuse him under usual names,
Fortune and Fate,[96] as one regardless quite
Of mortal things. Who therefore seeks in these
True wisdom, finds her not; or, by delusion,
Far worse, her false resemblance only meets,
An empty cloud.[97] However, many books,
Wise men have said, are wearisome:[98] who reads
Incessantly,[99] and to his reading brings not
A spirit and judgement equal or superiour,
(And what he brings what needs he elsewhere seek?)
Uncertain and unsettled still remains,
Deep versed in books, and shallow in himself,[100]

Crude or intoxicate, collecting toys
And trifles for choice matters, worth a sponge;[101]
As children gathering pebbles on the shore.[102]
Or, if I would delight my private hours
With musick or with poem; where, so soon
As in our native language, can I find
That solace? All our law and story strew'd
With hymns, our psalms with artful terms inscribed,[103]
Our Hebrew songs and harps,[104] in Babylon
That pleased so well our victors' ear, declare
That rather Greece from us[105] these arts derived;
Ill imitated,[106] while they loudest sing
The vices of their deities, and their own,
In fable, hymn, or song, so personating[107]
Their gods ridiculous, and themselves past shame.
Remove their swelling epithets,[108] thick laid
As varnish on a harlot's cheek;[109] the rest,
Thin sown with aught of profit or delight,
Will far be found unworthy to compare
With Sion's songs,[110] to all true tastes excelling,
Where God is praised aright,[111] and godlike men,
The Holiest of Holies, and his saints,
(Such are from God inspired, not such from thee)
Unless where moral virtue is express'd
By light of Nature, not in all quite lost.[112]
Their orators thou then extoll'st, as those
The top of eloquence; statists[113] indeed,
And lovers of their country, as may seem;
But herein to our prophets far beneath,
As men divinely taught, and better teaching
The solid rules of civil government,

In their majestick unaffected style,
Than all the oratory of Greece and Rome.
In them is plainest taught, and easiest learnt,
What makes a nation happy, and keeps it so;[114]
What ruins kingdoms, and lays cities flat:
These only with our law best form a king.
So spake the Son of God: but Satan, now
Quite at a loss, (for all his darts were spent)[115]
Thus to our Saviour with stern brow replied:
Since neither wealth nor honour, arms nor arts,
Kingdom nor empire pleases thee, nor aught
By me proposed in life contemplative
Or active, tended on by glory or fame,
What dost thou in this world? The wilderness
For thee is fittest place; I found thee there,
And thither will return thee: yet remember
What I foretell thee: soon thou shalt have cause
To wish thou never hadst rejected, thus
Nicely or cautiously,[116] my offer'd aid,
Which would have set thee in short time with ease
On David's throne, or throne of all the world,
Now at full age, fulness of time, thy season,[117]
When prophecies of thee are best fulfill'd.
Now contrary, if I read aught in heaven,[118]
Or heaven write aught of fate, by what the stars
Voluminous, or single characters,
In their conjunction met, give me to spell;
Sorrows, and labours, opposition, hate
Attend thee, scorns, reproaches, injuries,
Violence and stripes, and lastly cruel death:
A kingdom they portend thee; but what kingdom,
Real or allegorick, I discern not;

Nor when; eternal sure, as without end,
Without beginning;[119] for no date prefix'd
Directs me in the starry rubrick set.
So saying, he took, (for still he knew his power
Not yet expired) and to the wilderness
Brought back the Son of God, and left him there,
Feigning to disappear. Darkness now rose,
As daylight sunk, and brought in lowering Night,
Her shadowy offspring;[120] unsubstantial both,[121]
Privation mere of light and absent day.[122]
Our Saviour meek, and with untroubled mind
After his aery jaunt, though hurried sore,
Hungry and cold, betook him to his rest,
Wherever, under some concourse of shades,
Whose branching arms thick intertwined might shield
From dews and damps of night his shelter'd head;
But, shelter'd, slept in vain; for at his head
The tempter watch'd, and soon with ugly dreams
Disturb'd his sleep.[123] And either tropick now
'Gan thunder, and both ends of heaven;[124] the clouds,
From many a horrid rift,[125] abortive pour'd
Fierce rain with lightning mix'd, water with fire
In ruin reconciled:[126] nor slept the winds
Within their stony caves,[127] but rush'd abroad
From the four hinges of the world,[128] and fell
On the vex'd wilderness, whose tallest pines,
Though rooted deep as high;[129] and sturdiest oaks,
Bow'd their stiff necks, loaden with stormy blasts,[130]
Or torn up sheer.[131] Ill wast thou shrouded then,

O patient Son of God, yet only stood'st
Unshaken![132] Nor yet stay'd the terrour there;
Infernal ghosts and hellish furies round
Environ'd thee; some howl'd, some yell'd,[133] some shriek'd,
Some bent at thee their fiery darts, while thou
Sat'st unappall'd in calm and sinless peace!
Thus pass'd the night so foul, till Morning fair
Came forth, with pilgrim steps, in amice gray;[134]
Who with her radiant finger still'd the roar
Of thunder, chased the clouds, and laid the winds,[135]
And grisly spectres,[136] which the fiend had raised
To tempt the Son of God[137] with terrours dire.
And now the sun[138] with more effectual beams
Had cheer'd the face of earth, and dried the wet
From drooping plant or dropping tree; the birds,
Who all things now behold more fresh and green,
After a night of storm so ruinous,
Clear'd up their choicest notes in bush and spray,
To gratulate the sweet return of morn.
Nor yet, amidst this joy and brightest morn,
Was absent, after all his mischief done,
The prince of darkness; glad would also seem
Of this fair change, and to our Saviour came;
Yet with no new device; (they all were spent)
Rather by this his last affront resolved,
Desperate of better course, to vent his rage
And mad despite to be so oft repell'd.
Him walking on a sunny hill he found,
Back'd on the north and west by a thick wood.
Out of the wood he starts in wonted shape,[139]

And in a careless mood thus to him said:
Fair morning yet betides thee, Son of God,
After a dismal night: I heard the wrack,
As earth and sky would mingle; but myself
Was distant; and these flaws,[140] though mortals fear them
As dangerous to the pillar'd frame of heaven,[141]
Or to the earth's dark basis underneath,
Are to the main as inconsiderable
And harmless, if not wholesome, as a sneeze
To man's less universe, and soon are gone:
Yet, as being ofttimes noxious where they light
On man, beast, plant, wasteful and turbulent,
Like turbulencies in the affairs of men,
Over whose heads they roar, and seem to point,
They oft fore-signify and threaten ill:
This tempest at this desert most was bent;
Of men at thee, for only thou here dwell'st.
Did I not tell thee, if thou didst reject
The perfect season offer'd with my aid[142]
To win thy destined seat, but wilt prolong
All to the push of fate, pursue thy way
Of gaining David's throne, no man knows when,
For both the when and how is no where told?
Thou shalt be what thou art ordain'd, no doubt;
For angels have proclaim'd it, but concealing
The time and means. Each act is rightliest done,
Not when it must, but when it may be best:
If thou observe not this, be sure to find,
What I foretold thee,[143] many a hard assay
Of dangers, and adversities, and pains,
Ere thou of Israel's sceptre get fast hold;

Whereof this ominous night, that closed thee round,
So many terrours, voices, prodigies,
May warn thee, as a sure foregoing sign.
So talk'd he, while the Son of God went on
And stay'd not, but in brief him answer'd thus:
Me worse than wet thou find'st not; other harm;
Those terrours, which thou speak'st of, did me none:
I never fear'd they could, though noising loud
And threatening nigh: what they can do, as signs
Betokening, or ill boding, I contemn
As false portents, not sent from God, but thee;
Who, knowing I shall reign past thy preventing,
Obtrudest thy offer'd aid, that I, accepting,
At least might seem to hold all power of thee,
Ambitious spirit! and wouldst be thought my God;
And storm'st refused, thinking to terrify
Me to thy will! desist, (thou art discern'd,
And toil'st in vain) nor me in vain molest.
To whom the fiend, now swoln with rage, replied:
Then hear, O Son of David, virgin-born,
For Son of God to me is yet in doubt;[144]
Of the Messiah I have heard foretold
By all the prophets; of thy birth at length,
Announced by Gabriel, with the first I knew;
And of the angelick song in Bethlehem field,
On thy birth-night that sung thee Saviour born.
From that time seldom have I ceased to eye
Thy infancy, thy childhood, and thy youth;

Thy manhood last, though yet in private bred;
Till at the ford of Jordan, whither all
Flock'd to the Baptist, I among the rest,
(Though not to be baptized) by voice from heaven
Heard thee pronounced the Son of God beloved.
Thenceforth I thought thee worth my nearer view
And narrower scrutiny, that I might learn
In what degree or meaning thou art call'd
The Son of God; which bears no single sense.
The son of God I also am, or was;
And if I was, I am; relation stands:
All men are sons of God; yet thee I thought
In some respect far higher so declared:
Therefore I watch'd thy footsteps from that hour,
And follow'd thee still on to this waste wild;
Where, by all best conjectures, I collect
Thou art to be my fatal enemy:
Good reason then, if I before-hand seek
To understand my adversary, who
And what he is; his wisdom, power, intent;
By parl or composition, truce or league,
To win him, or win from him what I can:
And opportunity I here have had
To try thee, sift thee, and confess have found thee
Proof against all temptation,[145] as a rock
Of adamant, and, as a centre, firm;
To the utmost of mere man both wise and good,
Not more; for honours, riches, kingdoms, glory,
Have been before contemn'd, and may again.
Therefore to know what more thou art than man,
Worth naming Son of God by voice from heaven,[146]
Another method I must now begin.

So saying, he caught him up, and, without wing
Of hippogrif,[147] bore through the air sublime,
Over the wilderness and o'er the plain;
Till underneath them fair Jerusalem,
The holy city,[148] lifted high her towers,[149]
And higher yet the glorious temple rear'd
Her pile, far off appearing like a mount
Of alabaster, topt with golden spires:
There, on the highest pinnacle, he set
The Son of God;[150] and added thus in scorn:
There stand, if thou wilt stand; to stand upright
Will ask thee skill: I to thy Father's house
Have brought thee, and highest placed: highest is best:
Now show thy progeny; if not to stand,
Cast thyself down; safely, if Son of God:
For it is written,—He will give command
Concerning thee to his angels: in their hands
They shall uplift thee, lest at any time
Thou chance to dash thy foot against a stone.
To whom thus Jesus: Also it is written,
Tempt not the Lord thy God. He said, and stood:[151]
But Satan, smitten with amazement, fell.
As when Earth's son, Antæus,[152] (to compare
Small things with greatest)[153] in Irassa[154] strove
With Jove's Alcides,[155] and, oft foil'd, still rose,[156]
Receiving from his mother Earth new strength,[157]
Fresh from his fall, and fiercer grapple join'd;
Throttled at length in the air, expired and fell:
So, after many a foil, the tempter proud,

Renewing fresh assaults amidst his pride,
Fell whence he stood to see his victor fall:
And as that Theban monster,[158] that proposed
Her riddle, and him who solved it not devour'd;
That once found out and solved, for grief and spite
Cast herself headlong from the Ismenian steep:
So, struck with dread and anguish, fell the fiend;
And to his crew, that sat consulting, brought
(Joyless triumphals of his hoped success)
Ruin, and desperation, and dismay,
Who durst so proudly tempt the Son of God.
So Satan fell;—and straight[159] a fiery globe
Of angels on full sail of wing flew nigh,
Who on their plumy vans received him soft
From his uneasy station, and upbore,
As on a floating couch,[160] through the blithe air:[161]
Then, in a flowery valley, set him down
On a green bank, and set before him spread
A table of celestial food,[162] divine
Ambrosial fruits, fetch'd from the tree of life,
And, from the fount of life, ambrosial drink,
That soon refresh'd him wearied, and repair'd
What hunger, if aught hunger, had impair'd,
Or thirst; and, as he fed, angelick quires
Sung heavenly anthems of his victory[163]
Over temptation and the tempter proud:
True image of the Father;[164] whether throned
In the bosom of bliss,[165] and light of light
Conceiving; or, remote from heaven, enshrined
In fleshly tabernacle, and human form,[166]
Wandering the wilderness; whatever place,
Habit, or state, or motion,[167] still expressing

The Son of God, with godlike force endued
Against the attempter of thy Father's throne,
And thief of Paradise![168] Him long of old
Thou didst debel,[169] and down from heaven cast
With all his army: now thou hast avenged
Supplanted Adam, and, by vanquishing
Temptation, hast regain'd lost Paradise,
And frustrated the conquest fraudulent.
He never more henceforth will dare set foot
In Paradise to tempt; his snares are broke:[170]
For though that seat of earthly bliss be fail'd,
A fairer Paradise is founded now
For Adam and his chosen sons, whom thou,
A Saviour, art come down to re-install,
Where they shall dwell secure, when time shall be,
Of tempter and temptation without fear.
But thou, infernal serpent! shalt not long
Rule in the clouds; like an autumnal star,
Or lightning,[171] thou shalt fall from heaven, trod down
Under his feet:[172] for proof, ere this thou feel'st
Thy wound, (yet not thy last and deadliest wound)
By this repulse received, and hold'st in hell
No triumph: in all her gates[173] Abaddon rues
Thy bold attempt. Hereafter learn with awe
To dread the Son of God: he, all unarm'd,[174]
Shall chase thee, with the terrour of his voice,
From thy demoniack holds, possession foul,[175]
Thee and thy legions; yelling they shall fly,[176]
And beg to hide them in a herd of swine,
Lest he command them down into the deep,

Bound, and to torment sent before their time.—
Hail, Son of the Most High, heir of both worlds,
Queller of Satan![177] On thy glorious work
Now enter;[178] and begin to save mankind.
Thus they the Son of God, our Saviour meek,[179]
Sung victor, and, from heavenly feast refresh'd,[180]
Brought on his way with joy: he, unobserved,
Home to his mother's house private return'd.[181]

NOTES ON BOOK IV.

[1] Verse 5. *That sleek'd his tongue.* So Quarles, in his 'Elegy on Dr. Wilson,' st. iii. :—

> No far-fetch'd metaphor shall smoothe or sleek
> My ruffled strain.

Dunster.

[2] Ver. 10. *But as a man,* &c. It is the method of Homer to illustrate and adorn the same subject with several similitudes: our author here follows his example, and presents us with a string of similes together. This fecundity and variety of the two poets can never be sufficiently admired; but Milton, I think, has the advantage in this respect; that in Homer the lowest comparison is sometimes the last, whereas here they rise one upon another. The first has too much sameness with the subject that it would illustrate, and gives us no new ideas: the second is low, but it is the lowness of Homer, and at the same time is very natural: the third is free from the defects of the other two, and rises up to Milton's usual dignity and majesty. Mr. Thyer also observes, that Milton, as if con-

scious of the defects of his first two comparisons, rises in the third to his usual sublimity.—NEWTON.

[3] Ver. 15. *Or as a swarm of flies*, &c. This comparison, Dr. Jortin observes, is very just; and in the manner of Homer, 'Il.' xvi. 641. See also 'Il.' xvii. 570, &c. Mr. Thyer notices likewise the simile of the flies in the second book of the 'Iliad,' 469.—DUNSTER.

[4] Ver. 18.

Or surging waves against a solid rock,
Though all to shivers dash'd, the assault renew.

There can be but one opinion respecting this simile. "It presents," says Mr. Thyer, "to the reader's mind an image, which not only fills and satisfies the imagination, but also perfectly expresses both the unmoved steadfastness of our Saviour, and the frustrated baffled attempts of Satan." —DUNSTER.

[5] Ver. 27. *Another plain*, &c. The learned reader need not be informed that the country here meant is Italy, which indeed is long but not broad, and is washed by the Mediterranean on the south, and screened by the Alps on the north, and divided in the midst by the river Tiber.—NEWTON.

The ridge of hills here does not mean the Alps, but the Apennines, which divide the south-west part of Italy from the north-west; and in which the river Tiber has its source. The plain, contained between these hills and the Mediterranean sea, consists of the old Etruria, Latium, and Campania; the two latter being divided from the former by the course of the Tiber.—DUNSTER.

[6] Ver. 34. *With towers and temples proudly elevate*, &c. Thus Spenser, in his 'Ruins of Time,' where Verulam,

comparing herself with Rome, describes "the beauty of her buildings fair:"—

> High towers, fair temples, goodly theatres,
> Strong walls, rich porches, princely palaces,
> Large streets, brave houses, sacred sepulchres,
> Sure gates, sweet gardens, &c. DUNSTER.

[7] Ver. 35. *On seven small hills.* Thus Virgil, 'Georg.' ii. 535, speaking of Rome, "Septemque una sibi muro circumdedit arces."—NEWTON.

[8] Ibid. *With palaces adorn'd,*
Porches, and theatres, baths, aqueducts,
Statues, and trophies, and triumphal arcs.

All these articles of grandeur and expense, both public and private, are recorded and minutely illustrated, by Hakewill, in his 'Apologie of the Power and Providence of God,' through several sections of a chapter entitled, 'Of the Romans excessiue luxurie in building.'—TODD.

[9] Ver. 38. *Gardens, and groves.* The extravagance of the Romans in these articles of luxury was carried to a ridiculous height. They planted "gardens and orchards and groues vpon their house toppes; therein like Antipodes running a contrary course to nature, as Seneca truly and justly taxes them, Epist. 122." Hakewill's 'Apologie,' &c. in the chapter entitled, "Their [the Romans] prodigall sumptuousnesse in their private buildings, in regard of the largenesse and height of their houses, as also in regard of their marble pillars, walls, roofes, beames, and pauement full of art and cost," p. 404. Compare ver. 58, &c.—TODD.

[10] Ver. 40. *By what strange parallax, or optick skill*
Of vision, multiplied through air, or glass
Of telescope.

The learned have been very idly busy in contriving the

manner in which Satan showed to our Saviour all the kingdoms of the world. Some suppose it was done by vision; others by Satan's creating phantasms or species of different kingdoms, and presenting them to our Saviour's sight, &c. But what Milton here alludes to is a fanciful notion which I find imputed to our famous countryman Hugh Broughton. Cornelius a Lapide, in summing up the various opinions upon this subject, gives it in these words:—"Alii subtiliter imaginantur, quod dæmon per multa specula sibi invicem objecta species regnorum ex uno speculo in aliud et aliud continuo reflexerit, idque fecerit usque ad oculos Christi."—THYER.

[11] Ver. 45. *Great and glorious Rome, queen of the earth.* See 'Par. Lost,' b. xi. 405.—DUNSTER.

[12] Ver. 46. *With the spoils enrich'd*
Of nations.

This refers to the immense sums carried to Rome, and deposited in the treasury by their generals; and to what was amassed by the fines which the Romans arbitrarily set upon other states and kingdoms, as the price of their friendship.—DUNSTER.

This might be said of Paris in the time of Napoleon.

[13] Ver. 50. *There Mount Palatine,*
The imperial palace, compass huge, and high
The structure.

See Claudian, 'De VI. Cons. Hon.' 35.—DUNSTER.

[14] Ver. 54. *Turrets, and terraces.* Mr. Dunster remarks, that Milton here seems to have blended the old English castle with his Roman view: and Mr. Warton thinks that Milton was impressed with this idea from his vicinity to Windsor Castle. See 'Comus,' ver. 934.—TODD.

[15] Ver. 58. *Outside and inside both.* So Menippus, in Lucian's 'Icaro-Menippus,' could see clearly and distinctly, from the moon, cities and men upon the earth, and what they were doing, both without doors and within, where they thought themselves most secret. Luciani Opp. vol. ii. p. 197. edit. Græv.—CALTON.

[16] Ver. 63.

Prætors, proconsuls to their provinces
Hasting, or on return, in robes of state, &c.

The rapacity of the Roman provincial governors, and their eagerness to take possession of their prey, is here strongly marked by the word "hasting." Their pride and vanity were not less than their rapacity, and were displayed, not only in their triumphs, but in their magisterial state upon all occasions.—DUNSTER.

[17] Ver. 66. *Turms.* Troops of horse; a word coined from the Latin, *turma.* Virg. 'Æn.' v. 560:—"equitum turmæ."—NEWTON.

[18] Ver. 68. *On the Appian road,*
Or on the Emilian.

The Appian road from Rome led towards the south of Italy, and the Emilian towards the north. The nations on the Appian road are included in ver. 69—76, those on the Emilian in ver. 77—79.—NEWTON.

[19] Ver. 69. *Some from farthest south,*
Syene.

Milton had in view what he read in Pliny and other authors; that Syene was the limit of the Roman empire, and the remotest place to the south that belonged to it. Or it may be said, that poets have not scrupled to give the epithets *extremi, ultimi,* to any people that lived a great

way off; and that possibly Milton intended farthest south to be so applied both to Syene and to Meroe.—JORTIN.

[20] Ver. 73. *And Parthian among these.* The tempter, having failed to captivate our Lord with the view of the immense forces of the Parthians and their military preparations and skill, now endeavours to impress upon him a sense of the great power of the Roman empire.—DUNSTER.

[21] Ver. 76. *Dusk faces with white silken turbans wreathed.* I have been told, that a truly respectable prelate, whose taste and literary acquirements are of the first eminence, has noticed this verse as one of the most picturesque lines that he has ever met with in poetry: almost every word conveys a distinct idea, and generally one of great effect.—DUNSTER.

[22] Ver. 77. *Gades.* The old Roman name for Cadiz, or Cales, a principal sea-port of Spain, without the straits of Gibraltar: and is here put to signify the part of Spain most distant from Rome; which the Romans distinguished by the name of "Hispania ulterior."—DUNSTER.

[23] Ver. 78.

Germans, and Scythians, and Sarmatians, north
Beyond Danubius to the Taurick pool.

The Danube was the southern boundary of ancient Germany. From the mouth of the Danube to the Palus Mæotis, all along the shores of the Euxine sea, lay the European Scythians; and beyond them northward, the Sauromatæ, Sarmatæ, or Sarmatians: all the intermixed nations seem at the time of the christian æra to have ranked under the general head of Scythians or Sarmatians. Milton may therefore be understood, in this description, as mean-

ing to comprehend all the European nations from the banks of the Danube, and the shores of the Euxine, to the Northern ocean.—DUNSTER.

[24] Ver. 84. *Thou justly mayst prefer*
Before the Parthian.

The tempter had before advised our Saviour to prefer the Parthian, b. iii. 363: but this shuffling and inconsistency is very natural and agreeable to the father of lies, and by these touches his character is set in a proper light.—NEWTON.

There appears to me here no inconsistency whatever. What is here said rather marks the great and accomplished art of the tempter, than indicates a "shuffling." Satan only varies the attack, by changing the ground on which it had not been successful. His manner of doing it is perfectly plausible. "You," says he, "may very possibly prefer an alliance with the Romans, whose power and splendour I have just displayed, to one with the Parthians; and you judge wisely in so doing."—DUNSTER.

[25] Ver. 88. *I have shown thee all*
The kingdoms of the world, and all their glory.

The poet, in the preceding book, had displayed at large the military power of the Parthian empire. In the beginning of this book he shows and describes imperial Rome, the "queen of the earth," in all her magnificence of splendour and pride of power; and introduces the rest of the world as subject to her, doing homage to her greatness, and suing to her with embassies.—DUNSTER.

[26] Ver. 90. *This emperour*, &c. This account of the emperor Tiberius is perfectly agreeable to Suetonius and Tacitus, who have painted this monster, as Milton calls him, in such colours, as he deserved to be described in.—NEWTON.

[27] Ver. 95. *A wicked favourite.* Our poet, I dare say, read, with great displeasure and disgust, the fulsome praises of Paterculus on Sejanus, in his history.—Jos. Warton.

[28] Ver. 100. *Expel this monster.* Thus Cicero, 'II. in Catilin.' 1.—Dunster.
See also Juvenal, Sat. iv. 2.

[29] Ver. 103. *To me the power*
Is given, and by that right I give it thee.
Luke iv. 6.—Dunster.

[30] Ver. 114.
Their sumptuous gluttonies, and gorgeous feasts.
The poet had here perhaps in his mind the account given by Suetonius, cap. 13, of the sumptuous gluttonies of Vitellius; or the immense sums expended in this way by the famous Apicius; of which see Seneca, 'De Consolat. ad Helv.' cap. 10.—Dunster.

[31] Ver. 115. *On citron tables or Atlantick stone.* Tables made of citron wood were in such request among the Romans, that Pliny calls it *mensarum insania.* They were beautifully veined and spotted. See his account of them, lib. xiii. sect. 29. I do not find that the "Atlantick stone" or marble was so celebrated: the *Numidicus lapis* and *Numidicum marmor* are often mentioned in Roman authors.—Newton.

[32] Ver. 117.
Their wines of Setia, Cales, and Falerne,
Chios, and Crete.
The three former were of the most famous Campanian wines among the Romans: the Falernian was commonly considered as their prime wine.—Dunster.

[33] Ver. 118. *how they quaff in gold,*
Crystal, and myrrhine cups, emboss'd with gems
And studs of pearl.

"Crystal and myrrhine cups" are often joined together by ancient authors. "Murrhina et crystallina ex eadem terra effodimus, quibus pretium faceret ipsa fragilitas. Hoc argumentum opum, hæc vera luxuriæ gloria existimata est, habere quod posset statim totum perire." Plin. lib. xxxiii. Proem.—NEWTON.

[34] Ver. 124. *So many hollow compliments and lies,*
Outlandish flatteries?

Possibly not without an allusion to the congratulatory embassies on the Restoration.—DUNSTER.

[35] Ver. 130. *Let his tormentor conscience find him out.* Milton, as Dr. Jortin observes, had here in his mind Tacitus; who, having related the extraordinary letters written by Tiberius to the senate, adds; "Adeo facinora atque flagitia sua ipsi quoque in supplicium verterant. Neque frustra præstantissimus sapientiæ firmare solitus est, si recludantur tyrannorum mentes, posse aspici laniatus et ictus; quando, ut corpora verberibus, ita sævitia, libidine, malis consultis, animus dilaceretur. Quippe Tiberium non fortuna, non solitudines protegebant, quin tormenta pectoris suasque ipse pœnas fateretur." Annal. vi. 6.—DUNSTER.

[36] Ver. 132. *That people, victor once, now vile and base,* &c. This description of the corruption and decline of the Roman empire, contained in this and the following ten lines, is at once concisely fine, and accurately just.—DUNSTER.

[37] Ver. 139. *Then cruel, by their sports to blood inured,* &c. The connection of luxury, cruelty, and effeminacy has been often remarked in all ages.

[38] Ver. 140. *Of fighting beasts, and men to beasts exposed.* Beast-fights were exhibited among the Romans with great variety: sometimes, by bringing water into the amphitheatre, even sea-monsters were introduced for the purpose of combating with wild beasts. This is mentioned by Calphurnius, Ecl. vii. 65. The men that fought with wild beasts were called "bestiarii:" these were principally condemned persons; although there were some who hired themselves like gladiators.—DUNSTER.

[39] Ver. 145. *Or could of inward slaves make outward free?* This noble sentiment Milton explains more fully, and expresses more diffusely, in his 'Paradise Lost,' b. xii. 90.

> therefore since he permits
> Within himself unworthy powers to reign
> Over free reason, God in judgement just
> Subjects him from without to violent lords.

So also again, in his xiith Sonnet;—

> License they mean, when they cry liberty;
> For who loves that must first be wise and good.
>
> THYER.

[40] Ver. 146. *Know, therefore, when my season comes to sit On David's throne,* &c.

A particular manner of expression, but frequent in Milton; as if he had said, Know, therefore, when the season comes to sit on David's throne, that throne "shall be like a tree," &c. alluding to the parable of the mustard-seed grown into "a tree, so that the birds lodge in the branches thereof," Matt. xiii. 32: and to (what that parable also respects) Nebuchadnezzar's dream of the great "tree, whose height reached unto heaven, and the sight thereof to the end of all the earth," Dan. iv. 11.—NEWTON.

[41] Ver. 166. *On this condition; if thou wilt fall down, And worship me as thy superiour lord.*

In my opinion, (and Mr. Thyer concurs with me in the observation) there is nothing in the disposition and conduct of the whole poem so justly liable to censure as the awkward and preposterous introduction of this incident in this place. The tempter should have proposed the condition at the same time that he offered the gifts, as he doth in Scripture; but after his gifts had been absolutely refused, to what purpose was it to propose the "impious condition?" Could he imagine that our Saviour would accept the kingdoms of the world upon "the abominable terms" of falling down and worshiping him, just after he had rejected them unclogged with any terms at all? Well might the author say that Satan "impudent replied;" but that doth not solve the objection.—NEWTON.

I differ entirely from Dr. Newton and his very able coadjutor, respecting this part of the poem. The management of the poet seems so far from objectionable, that I conceive this passage to be a striking instance of his great judgment in arranging his work, as well as of his great skill in decorating it. The conduct and demeanour of Satan had hitherto been artfully plausible, and such as seemed most likely to forward his designs. At the beginning of this book, after repeated defeats, he is described desperate of success, and "flung from his hope;" but still he proceeds. Upon his next attack failing, the paroxysm of his desperation rises to such a height, that he is completely thrown off his guard, and at once betrays himself and his purpose, by bringing forward, with the most intemperate indiscretion, those "abominable terms," which, could it have been possible for his temptations to have succeeded, we may imagine were intended in the end to have been proposed to our Lord. This then is the full discovery who Satan really was; for it must be observed, that though Jesus in the first book (ver. 356.) had declared that he knew the tempter through his disguise, still the temptation proceeds in the same manner as if he had not

known him: at least, our Lord's conduct is not represented as influenced by any suspicion of an insidious adversary. As to proposing the condition together with the gifts; this I conceive could not be done without changing the whole plan of the poem; as by pushing the question immediately to a point, it must have precluded the gradually progressive temptations which the poet so finely brings forward. It might perhaps have been wished that the circumstance of Satan's betraying himself and his purpose, under the irritation of defeat and desperation, had been kept back, till the subsequent temptation, in the highly-finished description of Athens, with all its pride of learning and philosophy, had been tried, and had also failed. But the apologetic speech of Satan, (ver. 196.) in which he recovers himself from his intemperate impetuosity, and repairs the indiscretion of his present violent irritation, so far as to pave the way for another temptation, is not only marked with such singular art and address as is truly admirable, but likewise gives a material variety and relief to this part of the poem; which I cannot wish to have been in any respect different from what it is, as I do not conceive that even Milton himself could have improved it.—DUNSTER.

[42] Ver. 185. *The King of kings,*
God over all supreme?
1 Tim. vi. 15. Romans ix. 5.—DUNSTER.

[43] Ver. 188. *But gratitude in thee is lost*
Long since.
Milton had made Satan declare, long before, 'Par. Lost,' b. iv. 109.

all good to me is lost:
Evil, be thou my good! DUNSTER.

[44] Ver. 194. *That evil one.* The ὁ πονηρὸς, the pre-eminently "wicked one."—TODD.

[45] Ver. 203. *God of this world invoked.* Milton pursues the same notion which he had adopted in his 'Paradise Lost,' of the gods of the gentiles being the fallen angels; and he is supported in it by the authority of the primitive fathers.—THYER.

The devil, in Scripture, is termed "the god of this world," 2 Cor. iv. 4.—DUNSTER.

[46] Ver. 219. *Fitting Moses' chair.* Moses' chair was the chair, in which the doctors sitting expounded the law either publicly to the people, or privately to their disciples. See Matt. xxiii. 2.—NEWTON.

[47] Ver. 221. *be famous then*
By wisdom.

We are now come to the last temptation, properly so called; and it is worth the reader's while to observe how well Satan has pursued the scheme which he had proposed in council, b. ii. 225.

> Therefore with manlier objects we must try
> His constancy; with such as have more show
> Of worth, of honour, glory, and popular praise.

The gradation also in the several allurements proposed is very fine; and I believe one may justly say, that there never was a more exalted system of morality comprised in so short a compass: never were the arguments for vice dressed up in more delusive colours, nor were they ever answered with more solidity of thought, or acuteness of reasoning.—THYER.

[48] Ver. 230. *Ruling them by persuasion, as thou mean'st.* Alluding to those charming lines, b. i. 221.

> Yet held it more humane, more heavenly, first
> By winning words to conquer willing hearts,
> And make persuasion do the work of fear. NEWTON.

[49] Ver. 234. *Idolisms.* "Idolisms" is, I believe, a word of Milton's own fabrication: it seems not so much to mean the idolatrous worship of the gentiles, as the opinions with which they might endeavour to defend it.—DUNSTER.

[50] Ver. 235. *Errour by his own arms is best evinced.* "Evinced" is here used in its Latin signification of subdued or conquered.—DUNSTER.

[51] Ver. 237. *Westward, much nearer by south-west.* This might be understood W. by S. that is, one point from west towards south-west; which is nearly the actual position of Athens, with respect to Mount Niphates. Or it may only mean, that our Lord had no occasion to change his situation on the western side of the mountain (see ver. 25. of this book); but only, as the latitude of Athens was four degrees southward of that of Rome, that he must now direct his view so much more towards the south-west, than when he was looking at Rome, which lay nearly due west, or in a small degree north-west of Mount Niphates.—DUNSTER.

[52] Ver. 238. *Where on the Ægean shore a city stands.* The following description of Athens, and its learning, is extremely grand and beautiful. Milton's Muse, as was before observed, is too much cramped down by the argumentative cast of his subject, but emerges upon every favourable occasion; and, like the sun from under a cloud, bursts out into the same bright vein of poetry, which shines out more frequently, though not more strongly, in the 'Paradise Lost.'—THYER.

I cannot persuade myself, that our author, when he selected his subject and formed his plan, considered himself as any ways cramped down by it. I have no doubt, that he looked forward with pleasure to the opportunities, which he foresaw it would afford him, of introducing this

and other admirable descriptions; and that he was particularly aware of the great effect which the argumentative cast of part of his poem would give to that which is purely descriptive.—DUNSTER.

I am sure that this critical opinion of Dunster is perfectly correct. It is the theory on which I have constantly proceeded in judging of Milton.

[53] Ver. 239. *Built nobly.* Homer, speaking of Athens, calls it "a well-built city," Il. ii. 546.—NEWTON.

Ibid. *Pure the air, and light the soil.* Attica being a mountainous country, the soil was light, and the air sharp and pure; and therefore said to be productive of sharp wits. —NEWTON.

Ibid. "Pure the air, and light the soil," Mr. Calton remarks, is from Dio Chrysostom, Orat. vii. A variety of passages, which assert the clearness and pureness of the air of Athens, may be seen in Gronov. Thesaur. Gr. Antiq. 'De Fortuna Atticarum,' vol. 5. p. 1696, edit. fol. 1699.—TODD.

[54] Ver. 240. *Athens, the eye of Greece.* Demosthenes somewhere calls Athens "the eye of Greece," but I cannot at present recollect the place: in Justin it is called one of the two eyes of Greece, Sparta being the other; (l. v. c. 8.) and Catullus (xxxii. 1.) terms Sirmio the eye of islands: but the metaphor is more properly applied to Athens than any other place, as it was the great seat of learning.—NEWTON.

[55] Ibid. *Mother of arts*
And eloquence.

Justin (l. v. c. 9.) terms Athens "patria communis eloquentiæ:" and, l. ii. c. 6. he says, "Literæ certe et facundia veluti templum Athenas habent." Cicero abounds in panegyrics upon this celebrated seat of learning and eloquence:

he describes it, "illas omnium doctrinarum inventrices Athenas, in quibus summa dicendi vis et inventa est et perfecta," De Orator. l. i. 13. ed. Proust. And in his 'Brutus,' sect. 39. he characterises it, "ea urbs, in qua et nata et alta sit eloquentia."—DUNSTER.

[56] Ver. 242. *Hospitable.* Diodorus describes the Athenians as "hospitable to wits" of other countries, by admitting all persons whatever to benefit by the instruction of the learned teachers in their city, l. xiii. c. 27. The Athenians were remarkable for their general hospitality towards strangers, to whom their city was always open; and for whose reception and accommodation they had particular officers, under the title of πρόξενοι, i. e. "the receivers of strangers in the name of the whole city."—DUNSTER.

[57] Ver. 244. *The olive grove of Academe.* This whole description of the Academe is infinitely charming. Dr. Newton has justly observed, that "Plato's Academy was never more beautifully described."—DUNSTER.

[58] Ver. 245. *Plato's retirement.* Diogenes Laertius relates, in his 'Life of Plato,' that Plato "being returned to Athens from his journey to Egypt, settled himself in the Academy, a gymnasium or place of exercise in the suburbs of that city, beset with woods, taking name from Academus, one of the heroes, as Eupolis,—

'In sacred Academus' shady walks;

and he was buried in the Academy, where he continued most of his time teaching philosophy; whence the sect which sprung from him was called Academic."—NEWTON.

[59] Ibid. *Where the Attick bird,* &c. Philomela, who according to the fables was changed into a nightingale, was the daughter of Pandion, king of Athens. Hence the

nightingale is called "Atthis," in Latin, quasi Attica avis. —NEWTON.

Gray has imitated this expression in his 'Ode to Spring:'—

> The Attic warbler pours her throat
> Responsive to the cuckoo's note.

[60] Ver. 246. *Trills her thick-warbled notes the summer long.* Dr. Newton observes that perhaps there never was a verse more expressive of the harmony of the nightingale than this. Homer has a description of the song of that bird, which is not dissimilar, 'Odyss.' xix. 521.—DUNSTER.

[61] Ver. 247. *There flowery hill Hymettus,* &c. Valerius Flaccus calls it "florea juga Hymetti," Argonaut. v. 344; and the honey was so much esteemed and celebrated by the ancients, that it was reckoned the best of the Attic honey, as the Attic honey was said to be the best in the world.—NEWTON.

[62] Ver. 249. *There Ilissus rolls.* Mr. Calton and Mr. Thyer have observed with me, that Plato hath laid the scene of his Phædrus on the banks, and at the spring, of this pleasant river.—NEWTON.

[63] Ver. 251. *Who bred*
Great Alexander to subdue the world.

We are told by Cicero, that Aristotle, having observed how Isocrates had risen to celebrity on the sole ground of florid declamation, was thereby induced to add, to his own stock of solid knowledge, the external grace of oratorical embellishments; which recommended him so much to Philip of Macedon, that he fixed upon him to be preceptor to his son Alexander, whom he wished to be taught at once conduct and eloquence,—'De Orator.' iii. 41. ed. Proust.—DUNSTER.

[64] Ver. 253. *Lyceum there.* The Lyceum was the school of Aristotle, who had been tutor to Alexander the Great, and was the founder of the sect of the Peripatetics; so called, from his walking and teaching philosophy.—NEWTON.

[65] Ibid. *Painted Stoa.* Stoa was the school of Zeno, whose disciples from the place had the name of Stoics; and this Stoa, or portico, being adorned with variety of paintings, was called in Greek ποικίλη, or "various," and here by Milton the "painted Stoa."—NEWTON.

[66] Ver. 257. *Æolian charms,* &c. *Æolia carmina;* verses such as those of Alcæus and Sappho, who were both of Mitylene in Lesbos, an island belonging to the Æolians: "and Dorian lyrick odes;" such as those of Pindar.—NEWTON.

[67] Ver. 258. *And his,* &c. Our author agrees with those writers, who speak of Homer as the father of all kinds of poetry.—NEWTON.

[68] Ver. 259. *Blind Melesigenes, thence Homer call'd.* Our author here follows Herodotus, in his life of Homer, where it is said that he was born near the river Meles, and that from thence his mother named him at first Melesigenes.—NEWTON.

[69] Ver. 260. *Whose poem Phœbus challenged for his own.* Alluding to a Greek epigram, in the first book of the 'Anthologia;'—

Ἡείδον μὲν ἐγὼν, ἐχάρασσε δὲ θεῖος Ὅμηρος.—NEWTON.

[70] Ver. 261. *The lofty grave tragedians.* Æschylus is thus characterised by Quinctilian:—"Tragœdias primum in lucem Æschylus protulit, sublimis et gravis, et grandiloquus," &c. l. x. c. 1. where also the same author, comparing

Sophocles and Euripides, says, "gravitas, et cothurnus, et sonus Sophoclis videtur esse sublimior." Tragedy was termed "lofty" by the ancients from its style, but at the same time not without a reference to the elevated buskin which the actors wore.—DUNSTER.

[71] Ver. 262. *Chorus or iambick.* The two constituent parts of the ancient tragedy were the dialogue, written chiefly in the iambic measure; and the chorus, which consisted of various measures.—NEWTON.

[72] Ver. 263. *With delight received*
In brief sententious precepts.
This description particularly applies to Euripides, who, next to Homer, was Milton's favourite Greek author.—DUNSTER.

[73] Ver. 265. *Of fate, and chance, and change in human life.* The arguments most frequently selected by the Greek tragic writers, and indeed by their epic poets also, were the accomplishment of some oracle, or some supposed decree of fate.—DUNSTER.

[74] Ver. 266. *High actions and high passions best describing.* "High actions" refer to fate and chance, the arguments and incidents of tragedy; "high passions" to the *peripetia*, or change of fortune, which included the πάθος, or affecting part.—DUNSTER.

[75] Ver. 267. *Thence to the famous orators;* &c. How happily does Milton's versification, in this and the following lines, concerning the Socratic philosophy, express what he is describing! In the first we feel, as it were, the nervous rapid eloquence of Demosthenes, and the latter have all the gentleness and softness of the humble modest character of Socrates.—THYER.

[76] Ver. 268. *Those ancient.* Milton was of the same opinion as Cicero, who preferred Pericles, Hyperides, Æschines, Demosthenes, and the orators of their times, to Demetrius Phalereus, and those of the subsequent ages.—Newton.

[77] Ibid. *Whose resistless eloquence*
Wielded at will that fierce democratie,
Shook the arsenal, and fulmined over Greece.

Alluding, as Dr. Newton and Dr. Jortin have both observed, to what Aristcphanes has said of Pericles in his 'Acharnenses:'—

Ἥστραπτεν, ἐβρόντα, ξυνεκύκα τὴν Ἑλλάδα.—Dunster.

[78] Ver. 271. *To Macedon and Artaxerxes' throne.* As Pericles and others "fulmined over Greece to Artaxerxes' throne" against the Persian king, so Demosthenes was the orator particularly, who "fulmined over Greece to Macedon" against king Philip, in his Orations, therefore denominated Philippics.—Newton.

[79] Ver. 273.
From Heaven descended to the low-roof'd house
Of Socrates.

Mr. Calton thinks the author alludes to Juvenal, Sat. xi. 27:—"e cœlo descendit γνῶθι σεαυτὸν," as this famous Delphic precept was the foundation of Socrates' philosophy; and so much used by him, that it hath passed with some for his own. Or, as Mr. Warburton and Mr. Thyer conceive, the author here probably alludes to what Cicero says of Socrates; "Socrates autem primus philosophiam devocavit e cœlo, et in urbibus collocavit, et in domos etiam introduxit."—Tusc. Disp. v. 4.—Newton.

[80] Ver. 276.

From whose mouth issued forth
Mellifluous streams, that water'd all the schools
Of Academicks, &c.

Thus Quintilian calls Socrates "fons philosophorum," l. i. c. 10. As the ancients looked on Homer to be the father of poetry, so they esteemed Socrates the father of moral philosophy.—NEWTON.

But our author, in speaking here of "the mellifluous streams of philosophy that issued from the mouth of Socrates, and watered all the various schools or sects of philosophers," had in his mind a passage of Ælian, (Var. Hist. l. xiii. c. 22.) where it is said that "Galaton the painter drew Homer as a fountain, and the other poets drawing water from his mouth."—DUNSTER.

[81] Ver. 278. *Old and new.* The Academic sect of philosophers, like the Greek comedy, had its three epochs, old, middle, and new. Plato was the head of the old Academy, Arcesilas of the middle, and Carneades of the new.—DUNSTER.

[82] Ver. 283. *These rules.* There is no mention before of rules; but of poets, orators, and philosophers. We should read therefore, "their rules," &c.—CALTON.

See, however, v. 264. "In brief sententious precepts," &c.

[83] Ver. 285. *To whom*, &c. This answer of our Saviour is as much to be admired for solid reasoning, and the many sublime truths contained in it, as the preceding speech of Satan is for that fine vein of poetry which runs through it: and one may observe in general, that Milton has quite, throughout this work, thrown the ornaments of poetry on the side of error; whether it was that he thought great truths best expressed in a grave, unaffected style; or intended to suggest this fine moral to the reader; that simple naked truth will always be an over-match for falsehood,

though recommended by the gayest rhetoric, and adorned with the most bewitching colours.—THYER.

[84] Ver. 288. *He, who receives*
Light from above, from the fountain of light,
No other doctrine needs, though granted true.

Peck, from this passage, supposes Milton to have been a quaker. Milton was a sectarist on general principles, which cannot easily be reduced to any particular or separate system.—T. WARTON.

[85] Ver. 293.
The first and wisest of them all profess'd
To know this only, that he nothing knew.

Socrates; of whom Cicero, "Hic in omnibus fere sermonibus, qui ab iis, qui illum audierunt, perscripti varie, copiose sunt, ita disputat, ut nihil adfirmet ipse, refellat alios: nihil se scire dicat, nisi id ipsum: eoque præstare ceteris; quod illi quæ nesciant scire se putent; ipse, se nihil scire, id unum sciat."—Academic. i. 4.—NEWTON.

[86] Ver. 295. *The next to fabling fell, and smooth conceits.* Milton, in his Latin poem, 'De Idea Platonica,' terms Plato "fabulator maximus;" v. 38. This passage shows our poet inclined to censure the fictions of the philosopher; which are also noticed in early times.—DUNSTER.

[87] Ver. 296.
A third sort doubted all things, though plain sense.

These were the sceptics or Pyrrhonians, the disciples of Pyrrho, who asserted nothing to be either honest or dishonest, just or unjust; that men do all things by law and custom; and that in every thing this is not preferable to that. This was called the sceptic philosophy, from its continual inspection, and never finding; and Pyrrhonian from Pyrrho.—NEWTON.

[88] Ver. 297.

Others in virtue placed felicity,
But virtue join'd with riches and long life.

These were the old Academics, and the Peripatetics, the scholars of Aristotle. See Cicero, 'Academic.' ii. 42. and 'De Fin.' ii. 11.—NEWTON.

[89] Ver. 299. *In corporal pleasure he, and careless ease.* The "he" is here contemptuously emphatical.—DUNSTER.

[90] Ver. 300. *The Stoick last,* &c. The reason why Milton represents our Saviour taking such particular notice of the Stoics above the rest, was probably because they made pretensions to a more refined and exalted virtue than any of the other sects, and were at that time the most prevailing party among the philosophers, and the most revered and esteemed for the strictness of their morals, and the austerity of their lives. The picture of their virtuous man is perfectly just, as might easily be shown from many passages in Seneca and Antoninus; and the defects and insufficiency of their scheme could not possibly be set in a stronger light than they are by our author in the lines following.—THYER.

[91] Ver. 303. *Equal to God.* Dr. Newton here reads, "Equals to God," &c. and conceives the sense to be so much improved, that the omission of the letter *s* must have been an error of the press. I retain the reading in Milton's own edition, as the sense appears sufficiently clear with it; neither do I see any material improvement resulting from the correction.—DUNSTER.

[92] Ver. 307.

For all his tedious talk is but vain boast,
Or subtle shifts.

"Vain boasts" relate to the stoical paradoxes; and

"subtle shifts" to their dialectic, which this sect so much cultivated, that they were known equally by the name of Dialecticians and Stoics.—WARBURTON.

[93] Ver. 310.

Ignorant of themselves, of God much more,
And how the world began, and how man fell
Degraded by himself, on grace depending?

Having drawn most accurately the character of the stoic philosopher, and exposed the insufficiency of his pretensions to superior virtue built on superior knowledge; the poet may be understood here as referring to the Holy Scriptures, as the only true source of information respecting the nature of God, the creation, the fall of man, &c. —DUNSTER.

[94] Ver. 313. *Much of the soul they talk, but all awry.* See what Dr. Warburton has said of the absurd notions of the ancient philosophers, concerning the nature of the soul, in his 'Divine Legation,' book iii. sect. 4.—NEWTON.

[95] Ver. 314.

And in themselves seek virtue, and to themselves
All glory arrogate, to God give none.

Cicero speaks the sentiments of ancient philosophy upon this point, in 'De Nat. Deor.' iii. 36.—WARBURTON.

[96] Ver. 316.

Rather accuse him under usual names,
Fortune and Fate.

Several of the ancient poets and philosophers, but especially the Stoics, thus characterise the Deity.—DUNSTER.

[97] Ver. 321. *An empty cloud.* A metaphor taken from the fable of Ixion, who embraced an empty cloud for a Juno.—NEWTON.

[98] Ibid. *Many books,*
Wise men have said, are wearisome.
Alluding to Eccles. xii. 12:—"Of making many books there is no end, and much study is a weariness of the flesh."—NEWTON.

[99] Ver. 322. *Who reads*
Incessantly, &c.
See the same just sentiment in 'Paradise Lost,' b. vii. 126:—
Knowledge is as food, and needs no less
Her temperance over appetite, &c. THYER.

[100] Ver. 327.
Deep versed in books, and shallow in himself.
Milton would, I conceive, thus have characterised his old antagonist, Salmasius.—DUNSTER.

[101] Ver. 329. *Worth a sponge.* Milton most probably alluded to the sponge, as used by the ancients for the purpose of blotting out any thing they had written, and did not choose to preserve.—DUNSTER.

[102] Ver. 330. *As children gathering pebbles on the shore.* In the anecdotes collected by Spence, which not many years ago were published by more than one editor, the following is told of Sir Isaac Newton:—"I don't know," said the sage, "what I may seem to the world; but as to myself, I seem to have been only like a boy playing on the sea-shore, and diverting myself in now and then finding a smoother pebble, or a prettier shell, than ordinary, whilst the great ocean of truth lay all undiscovered before me." See also Nichols's 'Illustr. of Literature,' vol. iv. p. 16.—TODD.

[103] Ver. 335. *Our psalms with artful terms inscribed.* He means the inscriptions prefixed to the beginning of

several psalms; such as "To the chief musician upon Nehiloth," &c. to denote the various kinds of psalms or instruments.—NEWTON.

[104] Ver. 336.

Our Hebrew songs and harps, in Babylon
That pleased so well our victors' ear.

This is said upon the authority of Psalm cxxxvii. 1, &c. —NEWTON.

[105] Ver. 338. *That rather Greece from us*, &c. Clemens Alexandrinus ascribes the invention of hymns and songs to the Jews; and says that the Greeks stole theirs from them. 'Stromat.' l. i. p. 308. ed. Colon. 1688. He also charges the Grecian philosophers with stealing many of their doctrines from the Jewish prophets, l. i. p. 312.—DUNSTER.

[106] Ver. 339. *Ill imitated.* Because the subject of the Hebrew songs was God himself; the subject of the Grecian, the gross and ridiculous deities of their own invention.—TODD.

[107] Ver. 341. *Personating.* This is in the Latin sense of *persono*, "to celebrate loudly."—DUNSTER.

[108] Ver. 343. *Swelling epithets.* Greek compounds, as Dr. Warburton observes.—TODD.

[109] Ibid. *Thick laid*
As varnish on a harlot's cheek.

As Milton, most probably, had in his mind the following lines of Shakspeare, 'Hamlet,' a. iii. s. 1:—

> The harlot's cheek, beautied with plastering art,
> Is not more ugly to the thing that helps it,
> Than is my deed, &c. DUNSTER.

[110] Ver. 346.

Will far be found unworthy to compare
With Sion's songs.

He was of this opinion, not only in the decline of life, but likewise in his earlier days, as appears from the preface to his second book of the 'Reason of Church Government:'—"Or if occasion shall lead to imitate those magnifick odes and hymns wherein Pindarus and Callimachus are in most things worthy, some others in their frame judicious, in their matter most an end faulty. But those frequent songs throughout the law and prophets beyond all these, not in their divine argument alone, but in the very critical art of composition, may be easily made appear, over all the kinds of lyrick poesy, to be incomparable."—NEWTON.

[111] Ver. 348. *Where God is praised aright*, &c. Such is part of the conclusion, which he deduces from his consideration of poetical subjects, "of highest hope and hardest attempting,"—'Reason of Church Government,' pref. b. ii:—"These abilities, wheresoever they be found, are the inspired gift of God, rarely bestowed, but yet to some (though most abuse) in every nation; and are of power, beside the office of a pulpit, to inbreed and cherish in a great people the seeds of virtue and publick civility, &c. to celebrate in glorious and lofty hymns the throne and equipage of God's almightiness, and what he works, &c. to sing victorious agonies of martyrs and saints," &c. —TODD.

[112] Ver. 350.

Such are from God inspired, not such from thee.
Unless where moral virtue is express'd
By light of Nature, not in all quite lost.

The annotators puzzle themselves about this passage: it seems to me to mean, that the Greek compositions were

"unworthy to compare with Sion's songs," from their vitiated taste; unless where "the light of nature" still remained so strong, as to enable them to feel and "express moral virtue."

[113] Ver. 354. *Statists.* Or "statesmen." A word, as Dr. Newton observes, in more frequent use formerly; as in Shakspeare, 'Cymbeline,' a. ii. s. 5:—

I do believe,
Statist though I am none, nor like to be.

And, as Mr. Dunster adds, Milton uses it in his 'Prose Works,' vol. i. p. 424. ed. 1698. He uses it also, in the same sense, in his 'Prose Works,' vol. i. ed. sup. p. 141, and p. 302.—TODD.

[114] Ver. 362. *Makes a nation happy, and keeps it so.* Horace, Epist. i. vi. 42:—

Facere et servare beatam. RICHARDSON.

[115] Ver. 366. *For all his darts were spent.* Possibly with a reference to "the fiery darts of the wicked," Ephes. vi. 16.—DUNSTER.

The allusion may be to holy writ, in which the words of wicked men are expressly termed "arrows:"—"Who whet their tongue like a sword; and shoot out their arrows, even bitter words," Psalm lxiv. 3.—TODD.

[116] Ver. 377. *Nicely or cautiously.* Thus ver. 157 of this book;—

Nothing will please the difficult and nice. DUNSTER.

[117] Ver. 380. *Fulness of time, thy season.* Galat. iv. 4.—NEWTON.

[118] Ver. 382. *If I read aught in heaven.* A satire on

Cardan, who with the boldness and impiety of an atheist and a madman, both of which he was, cast the nativity of Jesus Christ; and found by the great and illustrious concourse of stars at his birth, that he must needs have the fortune which befel him, and become the author of a religion, which should spread itself far and near for many ages. The great Milton, with a just indignation of this impiety, hath satirized it in a very beautiful manner, by putting these reveries into the mouth of the devil.—NEWTON.

[119] Ver. 391. *As without end,*
Without beginning.

"The poet," says Dr. Newton, "did not think it enough to discredit judicial astrology by making it patronised by the devil: to show at the same time the absurdity of it, he makes the devil also blunder in the expression of portending a kingdom which was without beginning. This," he adds, "destroys all he would insinuate." But the poet certainly never meant to make the tempter a blunderer. The fact is, the language is here intended to be highly sarcastic on the eternity of Christ's kingdom, respecting which the tempter says, he believes it will have one of the properties of eternity, that of never beginning. This is that species of insulting wit, which the devils, in the sixth book of the 'Paradise Lost,' indulge themselves in on the first effects of the artillery they had invented; where Mr. Thyer, as cited by Dr. Newton, observes that Milton is not to be blamed for introducing it, "when we consider the character of the speakers, and that such kind of insulting wit is most peculiar to proud, contemptuous spirits."—DUNSTER.

[120] Ver. 399. *Her shadowy offspring.* Night was sometimes the parent, and Darkness the offspring: but Milton's theogony is conformable to Hyginus, who makes Caligo, or Darkness, the mother of Night, Day, Erebus, and Ether.—DUNSTER.

[121] Ibid. *Unsubstantial both.* Euripides, in a chorus of his 'Orestes,' personifying Night, calls upon her to arise from Erebus, or the shades below; where, it may be observed, the scholiast rectifies the philosophy of the poet, by explaining night or darkness as really "unsubstantial," and merely produced by the absence of light, or day.—DUNSTER.

[122] Ver. 400. *Absent day.* This description, with what follows in the next nine lines, is very beautiful.

[123] Ver. 408. *And soon with ugly dreams*
Disturb'd his sleep.

In the 'Paradise Lost,' the tempter begins his temptation of Eve by working on her imagination in dreams, b. iv. 800, &c. Here it may be observed, the tempter tries only "to disturb our Lord with ugly dreams;" and not to excite in him, as he did in Eve, "vain hopes, vain aims, inordinate desires."—DUNSTER.

[124] Ver. 409. *And either tropick now*
'Gan thunder, and both ends of heaven.

It thundered from both tropics, that is perhaps from the right and from the left.—JORTIN.

By "either tropick now 'gan thunder" Dr. Newton understands, it thundered from the north and from the south; but he observes that the expression is inaccurate, the situation of our Saviour not being within the tropics. By "and both ends of heaven," he understands "from" or "at both ends of heaven;" the preposition being omitted, as is frequent in Milton. He therefore reads the passage thus:

either tropick now
'Gan thunder; and, both ends of heaven, the clouds
From many a horrid rift abortive pour'd, &c.

I agree, that by "either tropick" Milton most probably meant that it thundered from the north and south; but I conceive, that by "both ends of heaven," he means east and

west, the points where the sun rises and sets; as his purpose is to describe a general storm, not coming from any particular quarter, nor only from north and south, but from every point of the horizon at once.—DUNSTER.

[125] Ver. 410. *The clouds,*
From many a horrid rift, &c.

This storm of Milton will lose nothing by a comparison with the celebrated ones of Homer in his fifth 'Odyssey,' and of Virgil in his first 'Æneid.' It is painted from nature, and in the boldest style. The night is a lowering one, with a heavy overcharged atmosphere: the storm commences with thunder from every part of the heavens: the rain then pours down in sudden precipitated torrents, finely marked, by the epithet "abortive," as materially different from the gradual progression of the most violent common showers; and the lightnings seem to burst in a tremendous manner from "horrid rifts," from the most internal recesses of the sky. To make the horror complete, the winds, as is often the case in those countries where thunder storms are most violent, join their force to that of the other two elements. Violent winds do not often attend violent thunder storms in this country; and therefore Mr. Thyer has thought it necessary to observe that the accounts we have of hurricanes in the West Indies agree pretty much to this description: but such storms are not confined to tropical situations, or even to countries approaching towards them.—DUNSTER.

[126] Ver. 412. *Water with fire*
In ruin reconciled.

Dr. Warburton understands this, "joined together to do hurt." Mr. Thyer says it is a bold figure borrowed from Æschylus's description of the storm that scattered the Grecian fleet, 'Agamem.' v. 559.

But I apprehend Dr. Newton sees the passage in its true

light, when he says, it only means "the fire and water fell (i. e. rushed down) together," according to Milton's usage of the word "ruin," Paradise Lost, b. i. 46. and "ruining," b. vi. 868: thus also, ver. 436 of this book: "After a night of storm so ruinous."—DUNSTER.

[127] Ver. 413. *Nor slept the winds*
Within their stony caves.

Virgil describes the winds as placed by Jupiter in certain deep dark caves of the earth, under the control of their god Æolus, 'Æn.' i. 521.

Lucan also speaks of the "stony prison" of the winds, lib. v. 609: and see Lucretius, lib. vi.—DUNSTER.

[128] Ver. 414. *But rush'd abroad*
From the four hinges of the world.

That is, from the four cardinal points; *cardo* signifying both a "hinge" and a "cardinal point," Virgil, 'Æn.' i. 85.

[129] Ver. 417. *Though rooted deep as high,* &c. Virgil, 'Æn.' iv. 445.

Quantum vertice ad auras
Ætherias, tantum radice ad Tartara tendit.

RICHARDSON.

[130] Ver. 418. *Loaden with stormy blasts.* This has some resemblance to Horace's "aquilonibus querceta Gargani laborant," Od. II. ix.—DUNSTER.

[131] Ver. 419. *Or torn up sheer.* This magnificent description of the storm thus raised by Satan in the wilderness, is so admirable and striking, that it need not be enlarged upon.

[132] Ver. 420. *Yet only stood'st*
Unshaken.

Milton seems to have raised this scene out of what he

found in Eusebius. 'de Dem. Evan.' (lib. ix. vol. ii. p. 434. ed. Col.) The fiends surround our Redeemer with their threats and terrors; but they have no effect.—CALTON.

[133] Ver. 422.

Infernal ghosts and hellish furies round
Environ'd thee, some howl'd, some yell'd, &c.

This too is from Eusebius, ibid. p. 435.—CALTON.

[134] Ver. 426.

Till morning fair
Came forth, with pilgrim steps, in amice gray.

'Amice,' Dr. Newton observes, a significant word, is derived from the Latin *amicio*, "to clothe." But this does not hit the full meaning of Milton's imagery. The combination, "amice gray," is from what is called *griseus amictus*, an officiating garment in the Roman ritual. "Amice" occurs simply for a priest's service-habit in Spenser's 'Faer. Qu.' i. iv. 18.—T. WARTON.

[135] Ver. 428.

Who with her radiant finger still'd the roar
Of thunder, chased the clouds, and laid the winds, &c.

This is an imitation of a passage in the first Æneid of Virgil, where Neptune is represented with his trident laying the storm which Æolus had raised, ver. 142. There is the greater beauty in the English poet, as the scene he is describing under this charming figure is perfectly consistent with the course of nature; nothing being more common than to see a stormy night succeeded by a pleasant, serene morning.—THYER.

[136] Ver. 430. *And grisly spectres,* &c. See our author's 'Ode on the Nativity,' st. xxvi. where he beautifully applies the vulgar superstition of spirits disappearing at the break of day, as the ground-work of a comparison. He supposes

that all the false deities of every species of the heathen theology departed at the birth of Christ, as spectres and demons vanish when the morning dawns. Under the same superstitious belief, Milton here makes the fiends retire, who had been assembled in the night to terrify our Saviour, when the morn arose.—T. WARTON.

[137] Ver. 431. *To tempt the Son of God*, &c. An eminent and excellent divine is of the same opinion as the poet with respect to "the evil spirits which the fiend raised," when he tempted our Lord:—"This, as we may probably suppose, was the devil's way of tempting or trying our Lord, during the forty days and nights of his fast; and many opportunities, no doubt, he had in so long a time, by frightful dreams when he slept, frequent apparitions and illusions of evil spirits in the night," &c. Bragge on the Miracles, vol. ii. p. 12.—TODD.

[138] Ver. 432. *And now the sun*, &c. There is in this description all the bloom of Milton's youthful fancy. We may compare an evening scene of the same kind, 'Paradise Lost,' b. ii. 488—495.—THYER.

It is impossible to forbear remarking, that the preceding description exhibits some of the finest lines which Milton has written in all his poems.—Jos. WARTON.

[139] Ver. 449. *In wonted shape*. That is, in his own proper shape, and not under any disguise, as at each of the former times when he appeared to our blessed Lord.—DUNSTER.

Compare 'Par. Lost,' b. iv. 819.

So started up in his own shape the fiend. TODD.

[140] Ver. 454. *These flaws*. "Flaw" is a sea-term, as Mr. Dunster observes, for a sudden storm or gust of wind. See 'Par. Lost,' b. x. 697.—TODD.

[141] Ver. 455. *As dangerous to the pillar'd frame of heaven.* So also, 'Comus,' v. 597,

If this fail,
The pillar'd firmament is rottenness.

In both, no doubt, alluding to Job, xxvi. 11. "The pillars of heaven tremble, and are astonished at his reproof." —THYER.

[142] Ver. 467.

Did I not tell thee, if thou didst reject
The perfect season offer'd with my aid, &c.

Here is something to be understood after "Did I not tell thee?" The thing told we may suppose to be what Satan had before said, b. iii. 351.

Thy kingdom, though foretold
By prophet or by angel, unless thou
Endeavour, as thy father David did,
Thou never shalt obtain, &c. DUNSTER.

[143] Ver. 478. *What I foretold thee,* &c. See ver. 374, and ver. 381. to v. 389 of this book.—DUNSTER.

[144] Ver. 500.

Then hear, O Son of David, virgin-born,
For Son of God to me is yet in doubt.

That Satan should seriously address our Lord as "virgin-born," because he entertained doubts whether he was in any respect the Son of God, is palpably inconsequent. "To be born of a virgin," Mr. Calton observes from bishop Pearson in a subsequent note, "is not so far above the production of all mankind, as to place our Lord in that singular eminence, which must be attributed to the only-begotten Son of God." But it must be recollected, that the subject of this poem is a trial *ad probandum* whether the

person declared to be the Son of God was really the Messiah: to acknowledge therefore that he was beyond all dispute born of a virgin, and had thereby fulfilled so material a prophecy respecting the Messiah, would be to admit in some degree the point in question: and however "virgin-born" might not be supposed to ascertain in any degree the claim to the Messiahship, still it could never be used in an address to our Lord meant to lower him to mere man. "Son of David," single and by itself, was an expression that Satan might be expected to use, when, characterising our Lord as a mere human being, he professed to disbelieve that he was the Son of God, born in a miraculous manner of a pure virgin, as it was foretold the Messiah should be. "Virgin-born" then must be considered as intended to be highly sarcastic: it is an epithet of the most pointed derision; resembling the "Hail, king of the Jews! and they smote him with their hands." It is that species of blasphemous insult, which might be expected from the arch-fiend, who at the opening of the speech is described "swoln with rage."—Dunster.

Dr. Joseph Warton is also of opinion, that "virgin-born" is here a highly sarcastical expression.—Todd.

[145] Ver. 533.

Proof against all temptation.

Compare Spenser, 'Faer. Qu.' i. vi. 4.

> But words, and lookes, and sighs, she did abhore,
> As rock of diamond stedfast evermore.

"Rock of adamant" is a phrase in Sandys's 'Job,' p. 29. ed. 1641. and in Shirley's 'Imposture,' p. 67. ed. 1652.—Todd.

[146] Ver. 538. *What more thou art than man,*
Worth naming Son of God by voice from heaven.

See Bishop Pearson 'on the Creed,' p. 106.—Calton.

[147] Ver. 541. *Without wing*
Of hippogrif.

Here Milton designed a reflection upon the Italian poets, and particularly upon Ariosto. Ariosto frequently makes use of the hippogrif to convey his heroes from place to place.—NEWTON.

Not intended, as Dr. Newton supposes, as a reflection upon the Italian poets; but as an allusion merely to his favourite Ariosto, whose charming fancies he could not forget even in his old age.—JOS. WARTON.

[148] Ver. 545. *The holy city.* Jerusalem is frequently so called in the Old Testament: it is also called the "holy city" by St. Matthew, who wrote his gospel for the use of the Jewish converts; but by him only, of the four Evangelists.—DUNSTER.

[149] Ibid. *Lifted high her towers.* Sandys, describing Jerusalem, gives a minute account of the remarkable height of her various towers; some of which, he adds, were topped with spires, as Milton says, ver. 548. See his 'Travels,' edit. 1615, pp. 156, 157.—TODD.

[150] Ver. 549. *There, on the highest pinnacle, he set*
The Son of God.

He has chosen to follow the order observed by St. Luke, in placing this temptation last; because if he had, with St. Matthew, introduced it in the middle, it would have broke that fine thread of moral reasoning, which is observed in the course of the other temptations.—THYER.

[151] Ver. 561.

Tempt not the Lord thy God. He said, and stood.

Here is what we may call, after Aristotle, the ἀναγνώρισις, or the discovery. Christ declares himself to be the God and Lord of the tempter; and to prove it, stands upon

the pinnacle. This was evidently the poet's meaning.—CALTON.

[152] Ver. 563. *Earth's son, Antæus.* This simile in the person of the poet is amazingly fine.—WARBURTON.

[153] Ibid. *To compare*
Small things with greatest.
This is the third time Milton has imitated Virgil's "sic parvis componere magna solebam,"— Ecl. i. 24. See 'Paradise Lost,' b. ii. 921. b. x. 306. Some such mode of qualifying common similes is necessary to a poet writing on divine subjects.—DUNSTER.

[154] Ver. 564. *In Irassa.* Antæus dwelt at the city Irassa, according to Pindar; but it was not there that he wrestled with Hercules, but at Lixos, according to Pliny, 'Nat. Hist.' lib. v. cap. 1.—MEADOWCOURT.

[155] Ver. 565. *With Jove's Alcides.* There were so many Hercules in the Grecian mythology and history, that it was necessary to specify when the principal Hercules, the son of Jupiter and Alcmena, was meant. Thus Cicero, 'De Nat. Deor.' lib. iii. 16:—"Quanquam quem potissimum Herculem colamus, scire sane velim; plures enim nobis tradunt ii, qui interiores scrutantur et reconditas literas; antiquissimum Jove natum." Varro says there were forty-three Hercules. It may be observed, that, though Hercules the son of Jupiter is introduced with propriety, the son of Jupiter by Alcmena had no right to be called Alcides; this being the proper name of the son of Amphitryon, whose father was Alcæus: and yet Virgil also refers to Alcides as the son of Jove, 'Æn.' vi. 123.—DUNSTER.

[156] Ibid. *And, oft foil'd, still rose.* Thus in Tasso, where the soldan Solyman is slain by Rinaldo, the resistance he

had before made is compared to that of Antæus, in his contest with Hercules, 'Gier. Lib.' c. xx. st. 108.—DUNSTER.

[157] Ver. 566. *Receiving from his mother Earth new strength.* So in Lucan, iv. 598:—

> Hoc quoque tam vastas cumulavit munere vires
> Terra sui fœtus, quod, cum tetigere parentem,
> Jam defuncta vigent renovato robore membra.
>
> DUNSTER.

[158] Ver. 572. *And as that Theban monster,* &c. The Sphinx, who, on her riddle being solved by Œdipus, threw herself into the sea.—NEWTON.

[159] Ver. 581. *So Satan fell; and straight,* &c. Thus in G. Fletcher's 'Christ's Triumph on Earth,' where Presumption is personified, and represented as in vain tempting our blessed Lord, st. xxxviii.:—

> But, when she saw her speech prevailed naught,
> Herself she tumbled headlong to the floor;
> But him the angels on their feathers caught,
> And to an airy mountain nimbly bore.—DUNSTER.

There is a peculiar softness and delicacy in this description, and neither circumstances nor words could be better selected to give the reader an idea of the easy and gentle descent of our Saviour, and to take from the imagination that horror and uneasiness which it is naturally filled with in contemplating the dangerous and uneasy situation he was left in.—THYER.

[160] Ver. 583.

> *Who on their plumy vans received him soft*
> *From his uneasy station, and upbore,*
> *As on a floating couch,* &c.

If this description is not from any famous painting, it is certainly a subject for one: but the grammatical inaccuracy here, I am afraid, cannot be palliated. "Him," ac-

cording to the common construction of language, certainly must refer to Satan, the person last mentioned. The intended sense of the passage cannot indeed be misunderstood; but we grieve to find any inaccuracy in a part of the poem so eminently beautiful.—DUNSTER.

[161] Ver. 585. *Through the blithe air.* "Blithe air" is similar to "buxom air," Paradise Lost, b. ii. 842. b. v. 270. But I conceive it to have a farther meaning, cheerful, or pleased with its burden; and it strikes me as an intended contrast to a passage in the 'Paradise Lost,' describing the flight of Satan, at the time he first rises from the burning lake, when "the dusky air is loaded with his weight," b. i. 226.—DUNSTER.

I humbly apprehend that "blithe air" is not similar to "buxom air;" for "buxom" signifies yielding, or flexible; and is, in this sense, the accustomed epithet to air among our elder poets: but the poet wrote "blithe air," in reference perhaps to the "fair morning after a dismal night; the clouds being now chased, and the winds laid;" and the air consequently "blithe," light and pure; the epithet "blithe" finely expressing what he says of the pure air of Paradise, 'Paradise Lost,' b. iv. 154:—

to the heart inspires
Vernal delight and joy, able to drive
All sadness but despair. TODD.

Here are difficulties made about what is sufficiently obvious.

[162] Ver. 587. *And set before him spread*
A table of celestial food, &c.

Here is much resemblance to a stanza of G. Fletcher, 'Christ's Triumph,' &c. st. 61:—

But to their Lord, now musing in his thought,
A heavenly volley of light angels flew,
And from his Father him a banquet brought
Through the fine element; for well they knew
After his le..ten fast he hungry grew;

And, as he fed, the holy quires combine
To sing a hymn of the celestial trine. DUNSTER.

[163] Ver. 593. *Angelick quires*
Sung heavenly anthems of his victory, &c.

As Milton, in his 'Paradise Lost,' had represented the angels singing triumph upon the Messiah's victory over the rebel angels; so here again, with the same propriety, they are described celebrating his success against temptation; and to be sure, he could not have possibly concluded his work with greater dignity and solemnity, or more agreeably to the rules of poetic decorum.—THYER.

[164] Ver. 596. *True image of the Father*, &c.

Cedite Romani scriptores, cedite Graii.

All the poems that ever were written must yield, even 'Paradise Lost' must yield, to the 'Regained,' in the grandeur of its close. Christ stands triumphant on the pointed eminence: the demon falls with amazement and terror, on this full proof of his being the very Son of God, whose thunder forced him out of heaven: the blessed angels receive new knowledge: they behold a sublime truth established, which was a secret to them at the beginning of the temptation: and the great discovery gives a proper opening to their hymn on the victory of Christ, and the defeat of the tempter.—CALTON.

[165] Ibid. *Whether throned*
In the bosom of bliss.

Thus, in 'Paradise Lost,' b. iii. 238, the Son of God says to the Father:—

I, for his sake, will leave
Thy bosom, and this glory next to thee;

and the Father, in reply, ver. 305:—

Because thou hast, though throned in highest bliss
Equal to God, &c.

The Son of God, after having descended to earth to pass sentence on fallen man, is likewise similarly described returning to his Father in heaven, b. x. 325.—DUNSTER.

[166] Ver. 598. *Enshrined*
In fleshly tabernacle, and human form.

St. John, i. 14. says, Καὶ ὁ Λόγος σὰρξ ἐγένετο, καὶ ἐσκήνωσεν ἐν ἡμῖν,—which, literally translated, is, "the Word was made flesh, and tabernacled among us." St. Paul, 2 Cor. v. 1. terms the body, or the human form, "our earthly house of this tabernacle." Thus also our author, in his Ode 'On the Passion:'—

> He, sovran priest, stooping his regal head,
> That dropp'd with odorous oil down his fair eyes,
> Poor fleshly tabernacle entered. DUNSTER.

[167] Ver. 600. *Whatever place,*
Habit, or state, or motion.

I cannot think, with Dr. Newton, that this is an allusion to Horace, Ep. i. xvii. 23:—

> Omnis Aristippum decuit color, et status, et res.
> JOS. WARTON.

No: the "habit, state, or motion," here refer to the look, the mien, the "habitus oris et vultus," of Cicero; and to the posture, or attitude, of the person. See 'Paradise Lost,' ix. 673: and so Quintilian:—"Ut in statuis atque picturis videmus variari habitus, vultus, status."—TODD.

[168] Ver. 604. *And thief of Paradise.* Thus, 'Paradise Lost,' b. iv. 192, where Satan first enters Paradise:—"So clomb this first grand thief into God's fold."—DUNSTER.

The phrase probably owes its origin to St. John, x. 1:—"He that entereth not in by the door to the sheepfold, but climbeth up some other way, the same is a thief and a robber."—TODD.

[169] Ver. 605. *Thou didst debel.* Virgil, 'Æn.' vi. 853:—"Debellare superbos."—NEWTON.

[170] Ver. 611. *His snares are broke.* "Our soul is escaped as a bird out of the snare of the fowler; the snare is broken," &c. Psalm cxxiv. 7.—DUNSTER.

[171] Ver. 619. *Like an autumnal star,*
Or lightning.

The poet here, as in other places, imitates profane authors and Scripture both together: 'Αστέρ' ὀπωριν῵ ἐναλίγκιον, 'Il.' v. 5. "I beheld Satan as lightning fall from heaven," Luke x. 18.—NEWTON.

[172] Ver. 620. *Trod down*
Under his feet.

"And the God of peace shall bruise Satan under your feet," Romans, xvi. 20; where the marginal reading for *bruise* is *tread.* From whence in the 'Paradise Lost,' b. x. 190:—"Whom he shall tread at last under our feet."—DUNSTER.

[173] Ver. 624. *In all her gates,* &c. Matt. xvi. 18:—"The gates of hell shall not prevail against it."—DUNSTER.

Ibid. *Abaddon.* The name of the angel of the bottomless pit, Rev. ix. 11; here applied to the bottomless pit itself.—NEWTON.

[174] Ver. 626. *All unarm'd.* In Vida's 'Christiad,' i. 192, Satan describes himself as having been completely foiled and defeated by our Saviour thus "all unarm'd:"—

Semper me reppulit ipse,
Non armis ullis fretus, non viribus usus.

DUNSTER.

[176] Ver. 628. *From thy demoniack holds, possession foul.* The demoniacs of the Gospel are constantly rendered in our version "possessed with a devil:" and Babylon is described "the habitation of devils, and the hold of every foul spirit," Rev. xviii. 2.—DUNSTER.

[176] Ver. 629. *Yelling they shall fly,* &c. See Matt. viii. 28. and four following verses; and Rev. xx. 1, 2, 3.—DUNSTER.

[177] Ver. 634. *Queller of Satan.* 'Paradise Lost,' b. xii. 311:—

> Who shall quell
> The adversary-serpent, and bring back,
> Through the world's wilderness, long-wander'd man,
> Safe to eternal Paradise of rest. DUNSTER.

[178] Ver. 635. *Now enter,* &c. May I venture to say, that I think this line, the last of the triumphant song of the angels, would have been a fine and forcible conclusion of the poem, without the addition of the four following, which are comparatively feeble?—JOS. WARTON.

[179] Ver. 636. *Our Saviour meek.* "Learn of me; for I am meek, and lowly of heart," Matt. xi. 29.—DUNSTER.

[180] Ver. 637. *From heavenly feast refresh'd.* Milton formed his description of the heavenly feast from the few owords of Matt. iv. 11:—"And, behold, angels came and ministered unto him." Compare v. 587, &c. Let it be added, that a more pleasing commentary on the expression of the Evangelist could not have been penned.—TODD.

[181] Ver. 639. It has been observed of almost all the great epic poems, that they fall off, and become languid, in the conclusion. This last book of the 'Paradise Regained' is one of the finest conclusions of a poem, that can be pro-

duced. They who talk of our author's genius being in the decline when he wrote his second poem, and who therefore turn from it, as from a dry prosaic composition, are, I will venture to say, no judges of poetry. With a fancy such as Milton's, it must have been more difficult to forbear poetic decorations, than to furnish them; and a glaring profusion of ornament would, I conceive, have more decidedly betrayed the *poeta senescens*, than a want of it. The first book of the 'Paradise Lost' abounds in similes, and is, in other respects, as elevated and sublime as any in the whole poem: but here the poet's plan was totally different. Though it may be said of the 'Paradise Regained,' as Longinus has said of the 'Odyssey,' that it is the epilogue of the preceding poem; still the design and conduct of it is as different, as that of the 'Georgics' from the 'Æneid.' The 'Paradise Regained' has something of the didactic character: it teaches not merely by the general moral, and by the character and conduct of its hero; but has also many positive precepts every where interspersed. It is written for the most part in a style admirably condensed, and with a studied reserve of ornament: it is nevertheless illuminated with beauties of the most captivating kind. Its leading feature throughout is that "excellence of composition," which, as lord Monboddo justly observes, so eminently distinguished the writings of the ancients; and in which, of all modern authors, Milton most resembles them.

At the commencement of this book the argument of the poem is considerably advanced. Satan appears hopeless of success, but still persisting in his enterprise: the desperate folly and vain pertinacity of this conduct are perfectly well exemplified and illustrated by three apposite similes, each successively rising in beauty above the other. The business of the temptation being thus resumed, the tempter takes our Lord to the western side of the mountain, and shows to him Italy, the situation of which the poet marks

with singular accuracy; and, having traced the Tiber from its source in the Apennines to Rome, he briefly enumerates the most conspicuous objects that may be supposed at first to strike the eye on a distant view of this celebrated city. Satan now becomes the speaker; and, in an admirably descriptive speech, points out more particularly the magnificent public and private buildings of ancient Rome, descanting on the splendour and power of its state, which he particularly exemplifies in the superb pomp with which their provincial magistrates proceed to their respective governments; and in the numerous ambassadors that arrive from every quarter of the habitable globe, to solicit the protection of Rome and the emperor. These are two pictures of the most highly finished kind: the numerous figures are in motion before us; we absolutely see

> Prætors, proconsuls, to their provinces
> Hasting, or on return, in robes of state,
> Lictors and rods, the ensigns of their power,
> Legions and cohorts, &c.

Having observed that such a power as this of Rome must reasonably be preferred to that of the Parthians, which he had displayed in the preceding book, and that there were no other powers worth our Lord's attention; the tempter now begins to apply all this to his purpose: by a strongly drawn description of the vicious and detestable character of Tiberius, he shows how easy it would be to expel him, to take possession of his throne, and to free the Roman people from that slavery in which they were then held. This he proffers to accomplish for our Lord, whom he incites to accept the offer, not only from a principle of ambition, but as the best means of securing to himself his promised inheritance, the throne of David. Our Lord, in reply, scarcely notices the arguments which Satan had been urging to him; and only takes occasion, from the description which had been given of the splendour and magnificence of Rome, to arraign the superlatively extravagant

luxury of the Romans,* and briefly to sum up those vices and misconducts then rapidly advancing to their height, which soon brought on the decline, and in the end effectuated the fall, of the Roman power. The next object which our author had in view, in his proposed display of heathen excellence, was a scene of a different, but no less intoxicating kind; Athens, in all its pride of literature and philosophy: but he seems to have been well aware that an immediate transition, from the view of Rome to that of Athens, must have diminished the effect of each. The intermediate space he has finely occupied. Our Lord, unmoved by the splendid scene displayed to captivate him, and having only been led by it to notice the vices and corruptions of the heathen world, in the conclusion of his speech marks the vanity of all earthly power, by referring to his own future kingdom, as that which by supernatural means should destroy "all monarchies besides throughout the world."

The fiend hereupon, urged by the violence of his desperation to an indiscretion which he had not before showed, endeavours to enhance the value of his offers, by declaring that the only terms, on which he would bestow them, were those of our Lord's falling down and worshiping him. To this our Saviour answers in a speech of marked abhorrence blended with contempt. This draws from Satan a reply of as much art, and as finely written, as any in the poem; in which he endeavours, by an artful justification of himself, to repair the indiscretion of his blasphemous proposal, and to soften the effect of it on our blessed Lord, so far at least as to be enabled to resume the process of his enterprise. The transition, ver. 212, to his new ground of temptation is peculiarly happy: having given up all prospect of working upon our Lord by the incitements of ambition, he now

* Possibly not without a glance of the poet at the manners of our court at that time.

compliments him on his predilection for wisdom, and his early display of superior knowledge; and recommends it to him, for the purpose of accomplishing his professed design of reforming and converting mankind, to cultivate the literature and philosophy, for which the most polished part of the heathen world, and Greece in particular, was so éminent. This leads to his view of Athens; which is given, with singular effect, after the preceding dialogue; where the blasphemous rage of the tempter, and the art with which he endeavours to recover it, serve, by the variety of the subject and the interesting nature of the circumstance, materially to relieve the preceding and ensuing descriptions. The tempter, resuming his usual plausibility of language, now becomes the hierophant of the scene, which he describes, as he shows it, with so much accuracy, that we discern every object distinctly before us. The general view of Athens, with its most celebrated buildings and places of learned resort, is beautiful and original; and the description of its musicians, poets, orators, and philosophers is given with the hand of a master, and with all the fond affection of an enthusiast in Greek literature. Our Lord's reply is no less admirable; particularly where he displays the fallacy of the heathen philosophy, and points out the errors of its most admired sects, with the greatest acuteness of argument, and at the same time in a noble strain of poetry. His contrasting the poetry and policy of the Hebrews with those of the Greeks, on the ground of what had been advanced by some learned men in this respect, is highly consistent with the argument of this poem; and is so far from originating in that fanaticism, with which some of his ablest commentators have chosen to brand our author; that it serves duly to counterbalance his preceding *éloge* on heathen literature. The next speech of the tempter, ver. 368, is one of those master-pieces of plain composition, for which Milton is so eminent: the sufferings of our blessed Lord are therein foretold with an energetic brevity, that, on such subjects, has an effect superior to the

most flowery and decorated language. The dialogue here ceases for a short time. The poet, in his own person, now describes, ver. 394, &c. our Lord's *being* conveyed by Satan back to the wilderness, the storm which the tempter there raises, the tremendous night which our Lord passes, and the beautiful morning by which it is succeeded. How exquisitely sublime and beautiful is all this!—Yet this is the poem, from which the ardent admirers of Milton's other works turn, as from a cold, uninteresting composition, the produce of his dotage, of a palsied hand, no longer able to hold the pencil of poetry! The dialogue which ensues, is worthy of this book, and carries on the subject in the best manner to its concluding temptation. The last speech of Satan is particularly deserving our notice. The fiend, now "swoln with rage" at the repeated failure of his attacks, breaks out into a language of gross insult; professing to doubt whether our Lord, whom he had before frequently addressed as the Son of God, is in any way entitled to that appellation. From this wantonly blasphemous obloquy he still recovers himself, and offers, with his usual art, a qualification of what he had last said, and a justification of his persisting in farther attempts on the Divine Person, by whom he had been so constantly foiled. These are the masterly discriminating touches, with which the poet has admirably drawn the character of the tempter: the general colouring is that of plausible hypocrisy, through which, when elicited by the sudden irritation of defeat, his diabolical malignity frequently flashes out, and displays itself with singular effect. We now come to the catastrophe of the poem. The tempter conveys our blessed Lord to the temple at Jerusalem, where the description of the holy city and of the temple is pleasingly drawn. Satan has now little to say; he brings the question to a decisive point, in which any persuasion of rhetorical language on his part can be of no avail; he therefore speaks in his own undisguised person and character, and his language accordingly is that of

scornful insult. The result of the trial is given with the utmost brevity; and its consequences are admirably painted. The despair and fall of Satan, with its successive illustrations, ver. 562 to ver. 580, have all the boldness of Salvator Rosa; while the angels supporting our Lord, "as on a floating couch, through the blithe air," is a sweetly pleasing and highly finished picture from the pencil of Guido. The refreshment ministered to our Lord by the angels is an intended and striking contrast to the luxurious banquet with which he had been tempted in the preceding part of the poem. The angelic hymn, which concludes the book, is at once poetical and scriptural: we may justly apply to it, and to this whole poem, an observation, which Fuller, in his 'Worthies of Essex,' first applied to Quarles; and which the ingenious Mr. Headley, in the 'Biographical Sketches' prefixed to his 'Select Beauties of Ancient English Poetry,' has transferred to the only poet to whom it is truly appropriate:—"To mix the waters of Jordan and Helicon in the same cup, was reserved for the hand of Milton; and for him, and him only, to find the bays of Mount Olivet equally verdant with those of Parnassus." It may farther be observed, that Milton is himself an eminent instance of one of his own observations in his 'Tractate of Education;' having practically demonstrated, what he invites the juvenile student in poetry theoretically to learn;—"what religious, what glorious, and magnificent use might be made of poetry."—DUNSTER.

END OF VOL. IV.

LONDON:
PRINTED BY A. J. VALPY, M.A.,
RED LION COURT, FLEET STREET.

00053647

Digitized with financial assistance from the
Government of Maharashtra
on 17 February, 2016